DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 067 741 EA 004 574

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|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Giles, T. E., Ed. |
| TITLE | Educational Accountability. Western Canada Educational Administrators' Annual Conference. (3rd, January 1972). |
| INSTITUTION | Alberta Council on School Administration, Edmonton.; Calgary Univ. (Alberta). Dept. of Educational Administration. |
| PUB DATE | Jan 72 |
| NOTE | 216p.; Conference sponsored by Alberta Council on School Administration |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Council on School Administration, Barnett House, 11010 - 142nd Street, Edmonton 50, Alberta ($5.00) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87 |
| DESCRIPTORS | Administrative Personnel; Boards of Education; *Community Involvement; Conference Reports; Curriculum; *Educational Accountability; *Management Systems; *Merit Pay; *Performance Contracts; Program Budgeting; Program Evaluation; Program Planning; Students; Teachers |
| IDENTIFIERS | Turnkey Operations |

ABSTRACT

This report contains papers by various authors who examine accountability from the perspective of students, teachers, administrators, trustees, and society. The report serves to offer more clarity and dimension to the accountability concept for the administrator seeking knowledge about the emerging patterns of administrative accountability. Other aspects of accountability discussed include (1) accountability in management, (2) performance contracting in turnkey operations, (3) control of accountability through PPBES, (4) control of teacher performance through merit salaries, and (5) involvement of professional and lay groups. (JF)

ED 067741

# Educational Accountability

Edited by
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Department of Educational Administration
The University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta

Conference sponsored by the
Alberta Council on School Administration

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EA 004 574

$5.00

Printed in Calgary, Alberta by
John D. McAra Limited
January, 1972

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# Foreword

Professional and public attention is focussed these days on the concept of educational accountability. The term "accountability" has as many meanings as people care to give it, and is often used in connection with such activities as evaluation, auditing, voucher plans, and performance contracting.

So great is the interest — and so meager the clarification of the many issues and problems involved — that the need for a comprehensive look at the concept prompted the Alberta Council on School Administration to sponsor their third annual Western Canada Educational Administrators' Conference on the theme of accountability.

No attempt at complete exposition is made in presenting these papers which were delivered at the Conference. Rather the papers provide pegs on which to hang further thoughts. These thought-pegs cluster around topics which examine accountability from the perspective of students, teachers, administrators, trustees and society. Their tone varies from the technical to the plainspoken; from the strange to the familiar; and from the new to the old.

If this potpourri serves its intended purpose, it should offer more clarity and dimension to the administrator seeking knowledge about the emerging patterns of administrative accountability.

Educational administrators are indebted to Dr. T. E. Giles of The University of Calgary for his outstanding leadership as Conference Director, and for his labors as editor of this publication.

Frank D. Oliva
President
Council on School Administration

# Acknowledgments

An expression of thanks is extended to the speakers, chairmen, reactors, planning committee, and particularly, to the hundreds of enthusiastic participants in the 1971 Western Educational Administrators' Conference.

The papers, which have been provided by the speakers, are collected in this book. These have provided the focal points for the conference and are provided here for those who did not have the opportunity to hear the speakers and for those who wish to review the papers to which they listened.

To the chairmen of the sessions, for their excellent work and the reactors who provided additional stimuli for discussions, a sincere thank you.

To the planning committee, listed below, a thank you for the assistance in making this a very successful conference.

K. W. Bride, The Alberta Teachers' Association

D. Friesen, The University of Alberta

D. Ledgerwood, Department of Education

F. D. Oliva, The University of Calgary

A. J. Proudfoot, The University of Calgary

E. W. Ratsoy, The University of Alberta

R. R. Rutz, Calgary School Board

L. Williams, Alberta School Trustees' Association

J. Yusep, Edmonton School Board

The participants in the conference are listed in the appendix. There was a good representation of teachers, school administrators, central office personnel, as well as representatives from departments of education, professional organizations, universities and school boards.

It has been a real pleasure to have been part of the team which presented this conference. My work as Conference Director was greatly enhanced by the support of so many people. Indeed, this has been a memorable experience.

T. E. Giles, Director
Western Canada Educational
Administrators' Conference

# Introduction

The concept of accountability in education is not new. Much of what we hear and read about relative to accountability has been with us for a number of years — perhaps the concept is as old as our educational systems. However, the terminology changes and new wrinkles are added to older ideas. We are now more likely to discuss performance contracting, voucher plans, PPBES, and so on.

It was the intent of this conference, as represented through the presentation of papers, to examine what accountability really is, and how it effects the educator, the clientele, and the various publics. Approaches are made from a more global, or societal viewpoint, then from very specific, narrower viewpoints — trying to get at accountability through as many focii as possible.

To the educator, accountability "is." It is not merely something on the horizon, to be regarded with suspicion. Dr. A. Edinborough helps us to look at accountability through the eyes of society. Dr. H. A. W. Knight, Mrs. P. M. Heighes and Mr. L. W. Ross focus on what accountability means to a trustee, a teacher and a school administrator, respectively. Dr. S. P. Hencley discusses the philosophical-ideological, political-legal and technological-economic impediments to accountability. Mr. D. Campbell emphasizes the very important day-to-day relations with the community, via the community school. The responsibility of the student to society and need for educational systems to consider the people affected by educational decisions is the message of Mr. D. MacKenzie.

The diametrically opposed ideas of accountability and a permissive society are examined by Dr. H. Zentner. The specific points of management, performance contracting and PPBES are considered by Dr. P. Wescott, Mr. C. Blaschke and Dr. W. Duke.

The examination of accountability through the specific means of merit salaries, involvement of professional and citizen groups, and through the introduction and evaluation

of innovations are presented by Dr. C. S. McDowell, Dr. O. P. Larson and Dr. H. E. May.

The final presentation by Dr. J. R. Frymier, brings us to probably the most vital aspect — the curriculum. It is here where accountability meets the student face-to-face; it is here where the most important decisions are being made; it is here where the student is most effected.

It is anticipated that improvements in education will more likely come to fruition if there is greater understanding among the members of the educational team — the students, teachers, administrators, trustees and the general public. Hopefully, these fifteen papers will help move us in that direction.

# 1

# Accountability from a Societal Point of View

A. Edinborough

I know that accountability is now very much the "in" word at faculties of education. However, I find my topic is somewhat opaque and I hope you will not mind if I interpret *accountability* as meaning *responsibility*. Assuming, therefore, my role as a member of society, I would like to talk (a) about the responsibility of the educational system towards society and (b) about the responsibility of society towards the educational system.

## RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM TOWARDS SOCIETY

According to the 8th Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada: "Education can contribute to two fundamental objectives of society — namely: economic growth and cultural development."[1] Education's responsibility towards economic growth is to be found in three areas:

(i) the teaching of skills that are marketable,

(ii) the teaching of thought processes which will help to discover new ideas, new concepts and new technology,

(iii) the diffusion of such ideas into society, because, as the E.C.C. says: "Education helps to reduce resistance to the adoption of new ideas and innovations, partly because there appears to be a close association between education and an individual's ability to accept (and adapt to) change."

Are these responsibilities being met? Is the education system fulfilling its role and is it in fact giving a good account of itself?

*Teaching Skills*

I am glad to see that Dick and Jane have finally been pensioned off. I would hate to climb, together with Spot, onto that wretched wagon with yet a third child. I think I should have gone raving mad. But, my impression is that more people can read than ever before. I know that more research is being put into reading processes than ever before, but there are two areas where I think we could legitimately expect better service than we are now getting. There seems to be not enough concentration on the magic of words and the building of vocabulary by motivating a child's curiosity. Further, there is certainly not the same innovative and creative manipulation of the learning processes in the schools as we have seen used on such TV programs as "Sesame Street."

I think it is also true to say that more people have basically learned to write in the past twenty-five years than ever before in Canadian history. It is not the school's fault, after all, that there has been a down-grading of precise English due to the manipulation of language by copy writers and other semi-literate employees of the mass media.

It is in the area of arithmetic that there have been more changes than in any other single subject — changes which I think were neither philosophically thought through nor technically proven before they were introduced.

I hold all departments of education and the faculties on which they feed accountable for inadequately testing these changes, just as I hold teachers' organizations accountable for inadequate protest about the new mathematics textbooks and new mathematics methods.

In a word, then, if reading, writing and arithmetic are — as I think they still are — three of the basic skills to be acquired in our public society, the system seems to be batting about 500.

*Marketing of Skills*

Earlier this year, I — and I am sure a lot of other people — were appalled to read in the press that a group of General

Arts B.A.'s from the University of Manitoba had been chosen to attend a "Manpower Retraining Program" to teach them something that would have a value in the market place. It was equally appalling to read a statement by a member of the Chemical Institute of Canada that 60% of those who had graduated with a Ph.D. in Chemical Engineering in the last two years had still been unable to find a job. I hold the university system particularly accountable for not concerning themselves enough with fitting to skills that they teach into the market place where their students must ultimately earn their living.

Already this year, not only are employers showing their disregard for the marketability of subjects learned in university, but so are the undergraduates themselves. There is a sharp fall-off in the number of registrations in General Arts right across the country. There is, on the other hand, a much higher registration in community colleges which are much more vocationally oriented.

It is not only the system, however, that is accountable for this strange lapse at the top of the educational pyramid, but society itself. If we are in fact to continue the upgrading of marketable skills so admirably started in the primary schools, we should take a very hard look at the artificial academicism of most secondary schools in most provinces and the seemingly total lack of liaison between universities and the society in which they operate.

On the system's side, there is no question that there needs to be much closer liaison and research between labour unions, departments of labour and departments of education.

*Teaching of Thought Processes by Which New Ideas Will be Generated*

In this area, too, I find a much better job being done in primary school than is being done later. The dynamics of the ungraded classroom; the motivation of children by the assignment of interesting projects; the increasing use of extramural visits to museums, art galleries, factories and offices — all this seems to stop in high school.

In high school and university, there are rigidities which completely stifle new ideas. These rigidities seem to be caused to a large extent by the determination of curriculum

people to cram as much as possible into the course instead of opening the minds of the students and thus encouraging them to find out the information on the basis of properly motivated curiosity.

And if there are rigidities in high school, they are worse in university. On the humanities side of most universities, undergraduate teaching is now regarded, not as an adventure of young minds eager for learning, but as a dreary preparation for that least liberal of all institutions — the Graduate School.

Now, I am not talking about necessary intellectual discipline. I am talking about improper prerequisites, the difficulties of scheduling, which computers seem to be compounding rather than alleviating, and the determination of the part of many high school teachers and university faculty members to merely reproduce their own kind. How can we have new ideas breaking forth from such a solemn circular system?

*Diffusion of New Ideas Into Society*

I think this classification reflects the academic thinking of the Economic Council of Canada itself. New ideas are not disseminated by the educational system. They are, in fact, spread via the mass media. Although they may have been discovered in the university graduate school or in privately-owned think tanks, if they are going to affect society, society will hear of them through TV, radio or the press. As for the way new technologies are spread, that also is scarcely a function of the educational system — most of them are introduced into society when they seem economically viable to a profit-making corporation.

The only ways in which the system as such can become involved in the diffusion of new ideas into society, is through its own tame TV (E.T.V.), or through nationally sponsored research bodies (National Research Council, Social Sciences Research Council, Canada Council, etc.).

So much for the economic growth of society. Now what about its cultural development? In his shattering report "WHAT CULTURE, What Heritage?", A. B. Hodgetts says:[2]

> Every department of education assigns to the classroom teacher of history, in addition to a variety of other

objectives, the awesome task of transmitting the cultural heritage, inspiring pride in the past, encouraging loyalty and fostering the development of responsible democratic citizens. Civic education in Canada is achieving very few of its stated objectives. The schools are not satisfying the reasonable expectations of the individual student, nor are they doing the job that society has every right to expect of them. The majority of English-speaking high-school graduates leave the Canadian Studies classroom without the intellectual skill, the knowledge and the attitudes they should have to play an effective role as citizens in present-day Canada. What they do remember has neither practical nor aesthetic value; it has not enriched their minds. They have found very little in the Canadian past which is interesting and meaningful to them and practically no source of inspiration in their cultural heritage. They are future citizens without deep roots, lacking in historical perspective and only vaguely aware of traditions that have by no means outlined their usefulness. Contrary to clearly stated national goals in education, they develop an apathy toward Canadian history which tends to influence adversely their feelings toward modern Canada. By continuing to tolerate antiquated materials, by using teaching methods that so often produce the very opposite of those desired, by functioning as autonomous units in society, by over-emphasizing provincial concerns and inadvertently neglecting legitimate national interests, the schools are reinforcing unwarranted, as distinct from natural and desirable, regional feelings. Canadian studies do not give to most of our young people a constructive sense of belonging to a unique, identifiable civic culture.

This is the most damning indictment of the whole educational system of this country. I have quoted it at length because I believe it to be true, and I think, with Hodgetts, that it is disastrous. Why? Well, as far as I am concerned, nationalism is the most dynamic force in this latter part of the 20th century, whether one looks at the emerging countries of Asia or Africa, or whether one looks at the developed countries of Britain and the United States.

President Nixon's recent economic moves are clearly in the national self-interest of the United States. He has taken

no thought whatsoever of the rest of the world. And the upset election of Mr. Edward Heath in Great Britain could be traced almost entirely to his election promise that he would run Britain in Britain's interest not that of Europe or the Commonwealth. If we let other nations, in their dynamics, impose their wills on us, we shall be not only the cultural but, clearly, the economic losers as well.

I am proud of being a Canadian; I am proud of the individualism that is natural to Canada; I am proud of the relative lack of violence in our society; I am proud of our fairly high level of racial and religious tolerance; I am proud of our joint French-English heritage; I am proud of our pragmatic and sensible way of doing business; I am proud of the way in which, through the Canada Council and other national and professional instruments, we are moulding our own niche in the visual and performing arts.

It really burns me up, therefore, to see so many of our faculties of education staffed by Americans or other imported scholars. I am very put off to see American textbooks in both schools and universities and to see the teaching of politics, economics and law entrusted to people who are either ignorant of, or foreign to, our basic national beliefs and practices. Taken together, these things constitute a sell-out by our educational system to alien influence — a sell-out for which I hold the system itself almost totally accountable.

It is, of course, also true that such a sell-out reflects our society, and having said what I have about education's responsibility to society, I must now turn to society's accountability to the system.

## RESPONSIBILITY OF SOCIETY TOWARDS THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

### *Funds*

Society's first obligation to education is to provide the funds. Once it has been agreed in principle that equal educational opportunity be available to all, society must provide the necessary money — a monumental task. For years, it didn't. Salaries were low, buildings were poor. Special services were non-existent and pensions and fringe benefits not heard of.

For years, society turned a blind eye to children already born, apparently believing that they would go away before they reached school age. When they didn't, there was a crash program in every province to create a desk for every child, room for all the desks and a body to be in front of them. Sometimes that body was trained; more often than not, it wasn't; and I shall long remember one principal telling me in Toronto one summer that he had finally hired all the 25 new teachers he needed, and he hoped that they would all still be warm come the Tuesday after Labour Day.

After the crisis in the public schools, we had the same stupid business in the secondary schools. And, since we did not learn in the first 18 years of these children's lives, we suddenly found we did not have the universities for them either.

About 5 years ago, there was suddenly a tremendous opening up. Money was spent like water. New universities were opened, new community colleges flowered in almost every city with a population over 30,000. Few of these institutions were properly planned. Some are already under-employed.

But after feast comes famine, or so our Puritan fathers would have us believe, quoting from a suspect story out of Egyptian and Hebrew mythology. By now, the freeze has come. Let me quote, again from the 8th Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada, published just last month:

> Expenditures in education have reached a level such that continued growth at the rate experienced during the 1960's is no longer possible or appropriate, particularly in the light of the growing volume of other demands on our limited production resources . . . Consequently, it is becoming increasingly important . . . to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of our educational systems and to seek less costly alternative approaches to upgrading the educational level of our population and labour force.

But if funds are once again to be pruned back, society must cooperate in its second responsibility: objectives.

*Objectives*

The setting of realisable, affordable objectives must be done by society, not just by the educational hierarchy operating solely under the constraint of available funds.

And how does society set up such objectives now? At the university level, through Boards of Governors and the way in which they administer the budget. Yet all too often Boards of Governors are chosen politically, that is, for the wrong reasons; and from business, that is, from the wrong sector. At the public school level, such objectives are set by elected school boards where the aggregate amount of taxes rather than the efficient spending of what is necessary, is the criterion. (Would anyone ever get elected to a school board by saying he would increase educational opportunity and thus the tax rate?) The third area where society sets objectives (or should) is in the Home and School movement. But this movement, by and large, has been a total disaster in the last twenty years.

There has been too much rah-rah competition in the getting out of numbers and too little good probing into the educational process by joint committees of teachers and parents. At the provincial and national level, the Home and School has worried much too much about such things as the nuclear bomb and foreign policy. If society is to succeed in establishing and promoting realistic and reliable educational goals and objectives, we shall need a whole new emphasis to produce a meaningful collaboration between parents, teachers and students.

It can be done. In Gary, Indiana, the Banneker Elementary School had the second lowest in achievement in the whole city, according to Dr. Gordon L. McAndrew, Superintendent of Schools: "75% of the school's graduates were below grade level in reading and mathematics." With a program which has made use of teachers, teaching assistants and the parents, 72.5% of the students in Grades 2 through 6 made average or better than average gains in reading or mathematics, or both, in the past year.

The odd thing about this was that it was achieved by contracting the school out for four years to Behavioral Research Laboratories of Palo Alto and New York. In other words, a private corporation was brought in with all its frightening apparatus of efficiency and the profit motive to put the kids through the hoops with their parents' consent. In terms of money, it achieved the results noted at a cost of $100 less per pupil than for those in the rest of the school system. But what a comment on society — opting out of

its responsibilities by letting their children in education be processed by an efficiency team at so much per head.

As I have said, we need much more cooperation, and that is the third area of responsibility for society towards the system.

*Cooperation*

We have not had much cooperation between society and our educational system so far. Employers either use the degree or graduation from lesser institutions as a kind of rough yardstick of achievement. No employer really expected any kind of specialized training from any of the levels of the educational system and did not ask for it either.

Parents have often used the school as a baby sitter; on the other hand, teachers and educators did not take the parents into their confidence, they got to know very little about what went on in schools. That is the reason the Home and School idea has been such a flop. But without such co-operation, and without a blurring of the present sharp edges of accountability by the educational system and society, we are regressing in our standards of education in a world where higher standards of achievement are not only desirable, but essential.

To sum up, therefore, let me say that society is responsible for providing its own continuance both economically and culturally within the educational system. The educational system must devise the methods and strategies by which this broad objective may be reached. In my view, this means that society must have better long-range planning through more precise governmental and citizen instruments; that society must seek close and valid cooperation with teachers' associations, faculties of education and other professional bodies, and that society must strengthen its belief in its own identity.

I am also of the opinion that the system must have a complete overhaul of its curriculum and the objectives set to that curriculum, especially in universities and teacher training colleges. I am equally convinced that the system must have openness to society as a whole and the labour market in particular. And, above all, that the system must have a real look at the other means whereby cultural and

moral values are inculcated into society, especially by the mass media.

With such approaches, given determination, frankness, energy and skill, we shall all be behaving as responsible citizens in furthering the economic, cultural and spiritual values which make up the distinctive society of Canada of which, as I have said, I am proud — exceedingly proud — to be a member.

*References*

[1]Government of Canada, *Eighth Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada*, Ottawa, 1971.

[2]Hodgetts, A. B., *WHAT CULTURE? What Heritage?* Port Hope, Ontario: Trinity College School, 1968.

# 2

# What Accountability Means to a Trustee

H. A. W. Knight

*Meaning*

What does accountability mean? In the old traditional way I looked up the word accountability in the dictionary. According to "Webster's Collegiate" it means: answerable; explicable (that may be explained); responsible; or capable of being accounted for. For my purposes here I will choose the word *answerable* as appropriate because it is complementary to what I believe are the first stages of accountability. Namely — we must ask ourselves a series of questions.

Accountability is very similar to what we know in the management field as *management by objectives.* To many people in education in word *"management"* is anathema to them. So the word accountability has been used instead, and I think it's more effective.

*For What, Whom*

As you all know trustees are accountable for policies and decision-making for particular school districts. These policies affect the administration and staff, the principals of each school and their staffs, and most important, the pupils. Trustees are also accountable to the public as taxpayers and parents. In addition trustees are accountable for the physical plant, for keeping their school district running in a cohesive, dynamic, efficient and economic way. They should have well

established communication links within their district and with other districts, educational agencies and the provincial department of education.

*For Whom, What*

If we look at the traditional educational hierarchy of a district we can start with trustees (not necessarily the most important) at the top of the totem pole, then we come to the district superintendent and his assistants and staff, then the principals and vice-principals, teachers, and finally students. Then of course we have provincial governments sitting away up there on high — mighty, mystical and godlike — the fountain head of education. Who they are accountable to is anyone's guess! Last but by no means least, there are the faculties of education — the educational elite. In British Columbia, at least, these groups seem to be on a similar ethereal plane as the provincial government. They are accountable to - - - -?

If we continue to look at the picture of the educational hierarchy for a school district, quite frequently the pupils are excluded. Yet trustees, and indeed everyone in the educational system it seems to me are primarily accountable to the pupils — otherwise we would not be here. We would be doing something else. I believe that we are all accountable in one way or another to pupils for enhancing their learning, developing their skills and, most important, building their self-esteem. We can only do this by becoming pupil oriented — put pupils first. Subject matter should play a secondary role. We know that pupils will easily learn by themselves given involvement, motivation, achievement and success. The word success brings to mind the opposite word — failure. I'm reminded of an item I read recently in our local newspaper a couple of weeks ago involving two departments at our local university. A gentleman in the chemistry department was charging the philosophy department of not keeping up university standards because they had not failed anybody last year. When I hear comments of this nature I wonder if educators know anything about education. It seems to me that this is a straight case of being subject-oriented and not student-oriented. Universities, however, are not alone — we still have a very strong "failure syndrome" in our school system. Where this exists, I think teachers should ask themselves — what they are trying to do in education?

Then they should read William Glasser's book *Schools Without Failure.*[1] Of course this question can easily lead to — what am I as a trustee trying to do in education? I have to admit this is not an easy question to answer. But it can lead a trustee, or anyone else, to the ultimate in accountability — to themselves.

*Questioning*

Now let us come back to the definition of accountability and to the word answerable. If we reverse this, we can become accountable by asking questions. Some of us will have to be careful here, however, as asking questions may be taken as a threat by some of those in authority. The more poignant the question the greater the threat. Nevertheless the risk of asking hard, penetrating questions is worth it. In fact we can not get accountability started without doing so. It we take accountability seriously we know it requires effort and soul searching on our part and this can be very uncomfortable.

Another thing about asking questions — we have generally discouraged them in schools. We know that children have a great curiosity. I was reading recently that this curiosity and questioning by children gradually tapers off from grades three to four. By the time they reach grade eight most children don't ask questions in school. They realize that challenging facts or raising issues will not improve their grades. Yet questioning is fundamental for learning and expressing ourselves. In my opinion this restriction on questioning in schools has been one of the most serious deficiencies in our formal education. It leads to non-questioning, passive adults who limit their involvement in society and society's problems, and just as important, it stifles creativity.

*Goals*

I was reading an article in the *B.C. Teacher*[2] recently where the author said that goal-less-ness had been extremely deepseated in education. But the educational system is not unique in this goal-less-ness. It is common in other sectors of society. However, because education is so important to society, its goal-less-ness is all the more devastating. It seems that our collective goals in education have been vague at best. One of the greatest weaknesses when we set goals

is that we hardly ever evaluate them. Goal setting is not so difficult by itself. We have a statement in the Evaluation Handbook[3] of our school district that says the goal of education is to provide all individuals with the opportunity to develop their full potential. I do not think anyone would disagree with this statement. But when we say "how" — we are on to something more difficult. In addition if the failure syndrome is still prevalent, or if we are shutting-off questions — these are not compatible with developing the full potential of children. We are just fooling ourselves with goal-setting.

It seems to me that before we set our goals or purposes in education we should be asking questions such as: What is education? What are we doing? Do we know where we are going? Where do we want to go? Is what we are doing helping us to get where we want to go? Why am I in education? Is what we are doing in the classroom relevant to pupils or society? I don't think all these questions can be answered entirely by educationalists. We have to involve students and our communities — essentially the clients. If we are planning for the future we must listen to our clients to a greater degree than before. We must try to serve the needs and be responsive to our clients. To me this is accountability.

*Accountability a Fad*

Accountability as we all know is a "fad" word in education today. Society goes through many fads which may be much to do about nothing. However, I think the idea of accountability has enormous potential. It is a vehicle for constant change and assessment. It requires a co-operative effort to make it a success. We have to allow all people at all levels to participate in making decisions about their own destiny and to share in success. There are many guides to follow. I would like to mention two recent publications that have been exclusively devoted to accountability — *Educational Technology*[4] and the *Phi Delta Kappan*.[5] I found the article by Felix M. Lopez in *Phi Delta Kappan* (p. 231) to be extremely rewarding — a sort of "How to, for Accountability."

*Accountability Examples*

In conclusion I would like to give an example of what our school district has been doing in accountability. The following is a description of citizen committees and the type of advertisement that was placed in the local press to attract interested people for these committees.

1. *Development of Citizen Committees*

In Victoria we have put the accountability concept into practice in a specialized way, based on study of experiments elsewhere, on a look at developments in our own community — and on intuition.

Our Board has been concerned with developing channels of incoming information, as well as with disseminating information *to* the public. The latter is easy; the former, far more difficult to make work effectively.

A number of factors influenced our eventual choice of a type of advisory committee. We did not want a single, permanent advisory group representing the whole school district. For one thing, it would smack of a "Shadow Board" if given a lot of power, and would wither quickly if given little to do. We felt that an advisory group representing the whole district would tend to fall into the hands of a few people, providing no more chance for involvement by the ordinary citizen than he has at present.

Considering ways of producing more local involvement, we thought of creating a number of advisory groups developed within areas of the school district. This was the device used fairly successfully in our Project Learning, a community involvement project two years ago. At this stage we were still thinking in terms of permanent, continuing groups, a concept we discarded for reasons I will come to in a moment.

Still another idea we examined and rejected was the advisory group built around the individual school. This, we felt, would duplicate the existing PTA's and school auxiliaries and would produce groups with limited vision and no interschool cross fertilization of ideas.

Our eventual choice made last spring was this: ad hoc citizens' committees focussing on specific issues.

In arriving at the choice, two major factors were considered. One was the apparent concern of parent-teacher groups and of the Greater Victoria Parent-Teacher Council that they might be pushed aside and replaced by community educational advisory groups.

Another factor is the widespread lack of interest by the public in attending meetings. It is felt that to generate participation, any organization must have a clear purpose of concern to those it hopes to attract.

A worthwhile advisory group must have a sharp focus arising out of a public desire or need. It should recruit people who are concerned with the topic, willing to do a job. It should not be dominated by any individual or faction. The group should draw on a wide range of experience and attitudes among the public. As an incentive to participants, the group ought to work quickly, accomplish its job, and disband.

We have just formed our first citizens' committee, which will assess community attitudes toward corporal punishment. Nineteen members were drawn by lot from among those who attended the inaugural meeting. These, plus one of our trustees, will have the task of eliciting representative public opinion.

A constitution approved by our Board is designed to guarantee an honest picture of how the public feels on this controversial topic. The reason that nineteen of the twenty committee members were chosen by lot was also based on democracy: the School Board did not want a packed committee any more than it wanted to appoint the committee members.

The citizens' committee will function with three co-chairmen holding hearings to which any citizen can submit a letter, a brief or a casual opinion. The committee, aided by a cash grant, will be encouraged to use imagination in eliciting community opinion. They might publish opinion coupons in the papers, hold hearings on radio or our local Cablevision TV station, or perhaps rent an answering service to which anyone can phone with an opinion.

This, then, is the sort of group we envisage for the future. There will be many of them, each tackling a specific task and reporting community views to the School Board. An

advisory group may be initiated by the School Board out of a desire for information, or it may originate with a request from the community.

The groups will have secretarial support from the School Board's Community Information Office. They will be able to meet in district schools free of charge. There will be advisory service from district personnel, if requested.

2. *Constitution for Community Advisory Committees*

(a) NAME

The name of each committee shall be: "The Citizens' Committee on (followed by the topic of inquiry)."

(b) PURPOSE

The purpose of citizens' committees shall be to inform the Greater Victoria School Board of the educational wishes of the whole community.

(c) SCOPE

A citizens' committee shall make investigations in keeping with this topic of inquiry. Its assessment of public opinion, and any recommendations it may make, shall relate only to the Greater Victoria School District.

(d) DUTIES

A citizens' committee shall familiarize itself with its topic of inquiry, and to the best of its ability elicit representative public opinion concerning the topic. The committee shall afford every citizen and group a reasonable opportunity to make submissions, whether formal or informal.

A citizens' committee shall be responsible to the Greater Victoria School Board, and shall make a written report to the Board summarizing its findings.

(e) POWERS

A citizens' committee may publish or broadcast advertisements or other forms of publicity seeking public opinion on its topic of inquiry. It may hold hearings, invite reports and submissions, and authorize special studies by sub-committees.

A citizens' committee may make recommendations to the Greater Victoria School Board.

(f) MEMBERSHIP

Membership on a citizens' committee shall be open without charge to any citizen or public school student. Membership shall be limited to a maximum of twenty persons drawn by lot among those attending the formative meeting of the committee. In the event that less than twenty names are drawn at the formative meeting, the remainder may be drawn among interested persons attending the second meeting.

Membership shall include one trustee delegated by the Greater Victoria School Board, and should include representation from the public, students, and professional educators.

Professional educators shall not comprise a majority of any citizens' committee.

Before a citizens' committee makes a report to the Greater Victoria School Board, the membership may vote on concurrence with the report, and with the result of any such vote shall be forwarded to the Board with the report.

(g) EXECUTIVE

As soon as practicable, a citizens' committee shall elect from its membership three co-chairmen, a secretary and up to five executive members. This executive shall direct the investigations of the committee, in keeping with the wishes of a majority of the membership.

The secretary shall keep a record of proceedings, and to conduct hearings and prepare a final report to the Greater Victoria School Board.

The major responsibilities of the executive members perform such other duties as are assigned to him by the executive. The record of proceedings shall be delivered to the Greater Victoria School Board when the citizens' committee is terminated.

The major responsibilities of the executive members shall be to act as chairmen of sub-committees.

(h) SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

Through the Community Information Office, a citizens' committee may request information and advice from the

administrative staff of the Greater Victoria School Board.

On request by a citizens' committee, the School Board's Community Information Office will provide some secretarial services.

For the purpose of informing the public of its work, each citizens' committee may purchase advertising to a maximum value of two hundred and forty dollars ($240), mum value of two hundred and forty dollars ($240), obtainable through the School Board's Community Information Office.

(i) TERMINATION

Upon submitting its report to the School Board a citizens' committee shall terminate. Committee members shall be advised of the outcome of the Board's study of the report.

*Summary*

The ultimate accountability is to ourselves. As a trustee I am accountable to the electorate for a careful consideration of school district finances and a keen interest in the development and efficient use of its physical plant. In addition, accountability of a trustee should be working in co-operation with others in the educational system to attain common educational goals. In attaining these goals the needs and advice of students and public must be included. I believe that by being accountable we are on the right track. But as Will Rogers once said, "Even if you're on the right track, you'll get run over if you just sit there."

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[2]Wilhelms, F. T., "Priorities in Change Efforts," *B.C. Teacher,* 50 (6), 1971.

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# 3

# What Accountability Means to a Teacher

MRS. P. M. HEIGHES

Most of the teachers I have spoken to are either too busy to have heard of accountability or very disturbed by the concept. There are a great many articles outlining theories of accountability and defining it, but it is difficult to find unbiased reports of how it actually works in practice. On one side is an apparently well-documented article claiming "Performance Contracting is a Hoax"[1] and on the other an enthusiastic account of the "Performance Contracts in Grand Rapids."[2] Charles Blaschke's summing up of the first year in performance contracting seems to acknowledge that it is a lot easier in the contracting than in the performance.[3]

Since most writers refer the reader to "the father of accountability" — Dr. Leon Lessinger, it is his concept of accountability to which teachers are reacting. His presentation is almost guaranteed to arouse antagonism. He writes as if he is selling a product on television — exaggerated claims for its efficacy, generalizations, and not even a suggestion of the problems to be encountered in putting it to use.[4] Anyone who is trying to influence the attitudes and behaviour of parents, teachers, ministers, policemen — members of a fraternity whose goal is to influence other people and to modify their behaviour — must show an insight into the complexities of human relationships and an understanding of the unpredictable element which makes it much easier to write out an excellent lesson plan than to give an excellent lesson. Dr. Lessinger may appeal to the

trustee or politician, but he leaves many teachers feeling resentful.

To read about it, one would imagine that a simple procedure like hiring a Management Support Group would solve most of the school's problems almost instantly. There is not even a suggestion of the conflict that might arise — and did, in fact, arise in Banneker School. There is the famous remark by the systems analyst who equated learning with any other product of an assembly line system. "You don't have to love the guy next to you on the assembly line to make the product. He puts in the nuts, you put in the bolts, and the product comes out. Teachers can hate me and still get children to learn."[5] This hardly matches the rhetoric which identifies "the welfare and growth of each student" as "the central and most noble concern of the education profession."[6]

By June, 1971, Lessinger had started to notice the extremely unfavourable teacher reaction to accountability and performance contracting.[7]

> Must teachers fear and perhaps even fight the movement for accountability? If they do, it will be the result of a superficial analysis on their part, a misreading of the depth of discontent with things as they are by the taxpaying public.

T[illegible] course, refers to the public of the United States. R[illegible]hers are not convinced that there is an assenting [illegible]n voice which is demanding basic reforms in school[illegible]. The schools which have been designated as recipients [illegible]unds for performance contracting are schools with special problems. The United States is going through a difficult period of desegregation and enforced busing. A vote against a school tax is certainly an expression of dissatisfaction, but it is not necessarily a cry for reform in education.

This may seem to be unimportant in considering the wider implications of accountability in education. It must not be overlooked, however, because it is a significant factor in the teacher-trustee-public relationship. Teachers often feel that they are a convenient scapegoat when the economy looks shaky. Doctors and lawyers could not possibly be held accountable; politicians are certainly not accountable; why should it be inevitable that teachers must be accountable? They have some support for their stand. In February, 1971, an

article urging co-operation between the teachers and the school board on the question of local autonomy appeared in the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*. It contained this paragraph:[8]

> The public wants more for its educational dollars and seems determined to get more. The government of Saskatchewan has put more pressure on teachers' salaries and on pupil-teacher ratios than any other provincial government in Canada, and in so doing presumably has the support of a very clear majority of the electors.

Four months later, after much unpleasantness between teachers and trustees which certainly came to the notice of the public, that government was soundly defeated. In 1970 the Department of Education in Saskatchewan set up a committee to look into the feasibility of rescheduling the school year. When the committee presented their findings in May, 1970, they included this observation.[9]

> Although the majority of parents indicated a desire not to see their taxes increased for educational purposes, the feeling was expressed that if the reason for increasing taxes was considered justifiable, such as reducing the pupil-teacher ratio, many parents would be willing to assume the additional costs this would incur. As one mother indicated, 'Instead of just assuming that we're all opposed to seeing taxes go up, why doesn't somebody ask us what we're prepared to support in education?'

With reinforcement like that most teachers are going to refuse to consider accountability. During the sixties the fad was for innovations; now it is for accountability. The traditional educational concept is presented as outmoded. Teachers must become competitive; they will be profiteers and the product they sell is "learning."

Elementary school teachers have fought a long battle for parity in wages with high school teachers. Accountability raises the question of profitable and non-profitable subjects. For example, the teacher of a class of non-educable retarded students could not show his effectiveness in the way that a teacher of mathematics could. Is accountability exclusive? Will the teacher of art, drama, physical education or music be held accountable? These are not facetious questions. Lessinger states quite specifically, "Accountability without redress or incentive is mere rhetoric."[10]

There is, however, more to accountability than this. Neither the defensive attitude of those teachers who consider it a threat to their dedication, nor the complacency of those who feel it will talk itself out like so many other educational schemes can dismiss the reality of six million dollars in performance contracts in schools in the United States. This is going to carry more weight than any magazine article. Moreover, Canada will be the next target for the salesmen from the firms which hold the contracts.

Teachers will be very short-sighted if they do not make themselves familiar with the tempting offers which these salesmen will be presenting. They are advocating a new strategy consisting of three new plans for attack. The several contentious practices which have been connected with the concept of accountability or with performance contracting — differentiated staffing, incentive pay, programmed learning, green stamps for goals gained — are merely tactics. If a local education authority is sold on the approach and its values, it can shop around to find the package which best suits its needs.

The three aspects of accountability which are plausible in theory but debatable in practice are: (1) systems-analysis: the school is a plant with "learning" the commodity it turns out; (2) test results as a basis of payment; (3) competency is the goal; any interaction between teacher and student in the school which does not result in measurable learning gains is non-profitable.

The implications of the first of these are two-fold. One deals with the attitude towards the student, the other to the organization of the school. Business jargon of the input-output type is usually distressing to teachers, but it appears in university teacher-training courses and its use is becoming more widespread. It is a short step from this to the consideration of a Management Support Group. Its major functions would be in program planning and development assistance, project management assistance and as a communications link. Mecklenburger and Wilson found a "tense alliance" between school people and industry-government people.[11] The school's Principal, Clarence Benford, acknowledged many head-on clashes with BRL's systems-oriented policies. (However, the clashes were painstakingly ironed out. By May, 1971, Benford was saying, "It might have been an unholy wedlock, but we're working as a team now."[12])

This brings up an interesting point. If educators feel that the systems-oriented approach conflicts with educational philosophy, but there is a place in the schools for efficiency in management, they may separate the roles of administrator and manager and the principal will find himself free to concern himself with education. Those principals who have been primarily involved with the problems of running an efficient organization will have to become leaders on the teaching team. The qualifications for this position will be an understanding of the communication process and an awareness of how one can best influence the members of the staff. Teachers have not waited for accountability to enter the schools to voice dissatisfaction with the sacrifices that must be made in educational philosophy in order to achieve administrative efficiency.

The second aspect is the importance of testing in accountability. "It is the comparison of what was supposed to happen and what did happen."[13] The learning experience of the student is measured by test results. If the tests which are in use are reliable and valid, then the procedure is simple: pre-test, teach, post-test. By comparing the results of test one and test two we find how much difference the teaching has made to the student's performance. We can accept the theory and question the reliability of the tests, or we can question the whole emphasis that this gives to testing. Dorsett Systems lost the contract at Texarkana because they "taught to the tests." Teachers who are no longer preparing students to write the Departmental Examinations will feel sympathy for Dorsett. A genuine concern for the student and a realization of what the matriculation certificate meant to him would be enough to direct the teacher's efforts towards helping him pass an exam without having the knowledge of the direct gain to be derived from his success as an extra incentive.

Not everyone shares this attitude towards teaching to the test. At least one professor in the Graduate School of Public Affairs at the University of California reacts differently. "What is wrong with that, if the examinations are good indicators of what we wish students to learn?"[14]

In the context of accountability, the tests are standardized tests. There has been a demand for criterion-referenced tests. The OEO will use several forms of the same stand-

ardized test supplemented by opinion surveys and interviews. I hope that the question of testing will be developed further in another paper. I shall simply refer to the article by Robert E. Stake which examines the statistical weaknesses and test limitations in evaluation, "Testing Hazards in Performance Contracting." He says:[15]

> Errors and hazards abound, especially when these general achievement tests are used for performance contracting. Many of the hazards remain even with the use of criterion-referenced tests or any other performance observation procedures.

Over the years the use of tests for grading students, deciding promotion to the next grade, reporting progress to the parents, has built up a great reliance on their value as measurement of progress. We have sold the test as an evaluation instrument; if it is of dubious merit and the performance contractor is basing his claims to success on it, we are merely hoist with our own petard.

Undoubtedly the main area in which performance contractors and accountability proponents promise delivery of the goods is in the basic skills of reading and mathematics. Their aims are to bring up the level of performance of all or most students to the grade norm in these skills. What does a grade level increase mean in specific terms?

Stake lists the gains in items right needed to advance one grade equivalent on four typical achievement tests: the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, Level 3: Reading Comprehension requires a gain of 3 items for an improvement of one grade equivalent; the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Form B: Spelling — 7 items; Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, Test A1, Arithmetic Concepts — 4 items; and the Stanford Achievement Test, Form W Intermediate II: Word Meaning — 8 items.[16] That may not seem to be very much, but Dorsett Systems, for example, took 13 years and $2 million to produce a system and teaching machines which after 60 hours of English and 60 hours of math had failed to improve 32 per cent of the target group and there were some students who had even regressed. It would be pointless to argue that the objectives were not challenging in the face of such results, and in the light of the evidence which indicates the existence of very real problems in the areas of the basic skills.

Take reading as an example. From the Second World Congress on Reading in 1968 came the report of an increase in the level of illiteracy in the world — and it was stressed that this was not only in newly-developing countries.[17] During the sixties there had been a special effort directed at making reading "a human right." Bringing the situation closer to home we have a survey of reading in the Manitoba Schools which investigated the reading achievement of more than 30,000 pupils from grades one, two, three and six for the year 1968 - 1969 and found that Manitoba pupils in these grades do not read as well as the SRAT norm group. Moreover, the median reading score for grade six pointed out "emphatically" that many of the pupils were reading content materials at "a frustration level of difficulty."[18]

Let me quote from a paper given at the World Congress on reading by Ruth Strang of Ontario:[19]

> Some groups of exceptional children learned in an accepting classroom atmosphere freed from failure, while others responded to pressure methods. Still others learned through a series of programmed lessons, the progressive choice method, a kinesthetic and auditory emphasis, the Montessori method, the initial teaching alphabet, or linguistic readers. One of the main conclusions of the United States Office of Education's extensive first grade studies was that there was no *one* best method of teaching reading.

It seems, from the evidence presented, that although children can learn to read from almost any method and although the gains for a grade level increase are no more than a few items, and either in spite of or because of a great emphasis on reading and remedial reading, we are not able to teach the majority of our children to read at the level required by their schooling.

Why are we not succeeding? Nowhere have I read the accusation that we are not trying. It is not a case of "If teachers won't do it, then somebody else will" but "If teachers *can't* do it, let somebody else try." The somebody else is private industry.

Teachers have one of two responses to this challenge. They can accept the objectives, make greater efforts, and try to get better results on the reading tests. If they do not suc-

ceed, they will have to yield to private industry. That is the first alternative. The second alternative is that the teachers will not even compete for better results on the tests in a specified amount of time. They will argue that the new trend in Canada is for curriculum revision which stresses educational experience. The competency cult is being rejected. The very efforts which have been put into achieving competency in reading may well be the cause of the poor results. The means-end value system has worked for academically-oriented students, but when compulsory education brought all young people into school and education was presented as a period of training for a final test, students dropped-out—became "turned-off." Our usual remedy was to do the same as before only more intensely. This is what concentrated remedial reading represents. Once the student has learned to decode the symbols he needs a wide experience of life to make what he is reading meaningful to him. He will not get this by learning to read per se.

In this context the student's experiences in school are of prime importance. The relationship that is developed between the student and teacher might not survive the emphasis put on success.

This kind of interrelationship and student development is easier to want than to achieve. It probably could not exist side by side with a demand for gains on a test that is not even a real test of reading comprehension.

Accountability merits investigation. I have presented those aspects which have been most widely publicized and which have aroused the greatest teacher reaction. Not to be overlooked is the effect that the movement has had on schools which were inspired by the boldness of private enterprises to try radical experiments on their own. The insistence on special training for the personnel working in contract schools has pointed out some of the many inadequacies in teacher training programs.

Perhaps in the final analysis it will be the serendipities of performance contracting that will make it all have been worthwhile.

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# 4

# What Accountability Means to a School Administrator

L. W. ROSS

## INTRODUCTION

Educators and educational systems have had a long history of either woefully weak or blissfully indifferent attitudes about their responsibilities to their communities and its non-student residents. Teachers have traditionally remained twice-removed from the realities of the environments that surround their schools. While whole school systems hide within bureaucratic fortresses that defy both understanding and penetration, it is indeed ironical that the very institution that is intended to develop communication skills for its students is itself one of the society's most ineffective and recalcitrant communicators.

I would suggest that our unwillingness to communicate openly with our several publics, and our inability to establish effective community liaisons is in some ways analagous to a polluted lake: someday we will all recognize the need to do something about the problem, but the clean-up task will be so tremendous that no one will know just where to begin. But most certainly the clean-up will have to occur if our schools are to have any hopes at all about re-establishing themselves as essential cornerstones in our communities.

## THE PROBLEM

Canadian schools have never needed to justify their reasons for being to the communities that they serve, nor have they ever had to qualitate the products of their classrooms. Acts of legislation and local bylaws have protected their existences and have guaranteed an unending tide of patrons. Public apathy has aided the stagnation of any form of involvement, and now militant teachers are expressing professional indignation to those who question their performances and suggest modification of their practices.

In the absence of organized external pressures, of measurable magnitude, the educator has been able to direct his interests towards the academic content of courses, behavioral expectations of students, and the simplification of teaching methods. Only very limited consideration is being given to the needs of the consumer and his estimation of the nourishment found in his academic diet.

As educators we have been able to isolate ourselves in our schools, and we remain largely unaware of the tarnish that has been accumulating on our *cum laudo* images. Our separation from reality is such that many of our colleagues are oblivious to the employment difficulties being experienced by our graduates and to the growing public resentment surrounding our "unchallengeable" educational practices.

## THE SOLUTION(S)

The solution to this largely self-imposed dilemma will demand the concerted efforts of everyone involved or interested in public education. Educators may be reluctant about accepting their fair share of responsibility for our present situation, but it should be apparent that everyone will have to join, with enthusiasm, the sorties that must be organized to achieve solutions.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the onus for initiating activity towards achieving an acceptable solution will fall largely upon the shoulders of our local school administrators, and in particular upon those of the school principal. In many instances noticeable adjustments in job descriptions and work orientations have already taken place, and some obviously are being tailored to meet the challenges of looming public relations programs.

Subject Coordinators, Department Heads and Consultants are assuming the responsibilities for curriculum development and academic leadership; Business Managers, Vice-Principals and Teacher Aides are emerging as the new facilitators of the ongoing task of classroom teaching; Assistant Principals and Supervisors are accepting the responsibility for the smooth conduct of a school, for staff development, for home communications and for general pupil-personnel-services. With increasing frequency the school principal is being freed to involve himself with his other administrative colleagues, with senior administrators, with service organizations, with the social agencies, with community associations and with the many other organized groups that exist both within and beyond the physical boundaries of the school system.

The principal of the seventies will have to grasp the advantages of his new situation, move away from his inherited responsibilities and begin to assume a new and more challenging obligation to his community. The new job is momentous in size, it is complex in description, and its local variations will prove to be mind-boggling to even the most competent person. Not only will there be many different communities or publics to understand, there will be myriads of agencies to sort out, individual personalities to cope with, and most demanding of all, there will be politics to be appreciated and played at every conceivable level. Tomorrow's principal (although several years too late) will truly be an education leader, not of teachers, not of curriculum, or of parents, or of students, but a community leader demonstrating that education is a viable and necessary institution in our society.

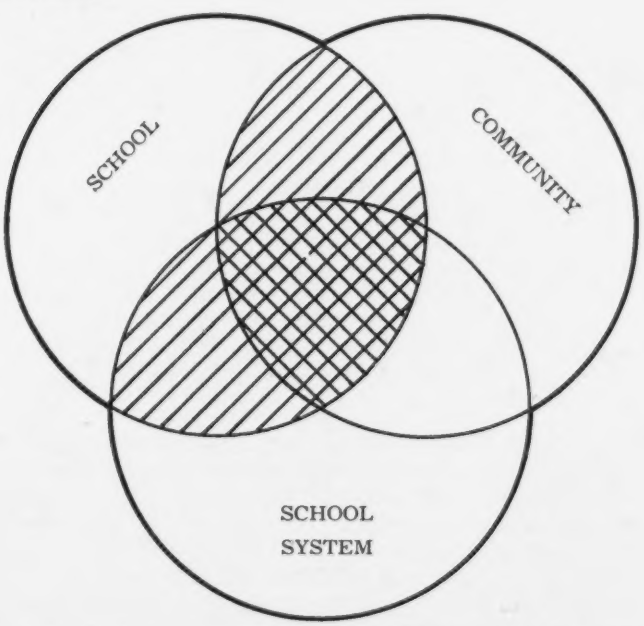
School administrators, better than anyone else, know the needs and the aspirations of the residents of the communities that they serve. The principal, because of his background, has established an awareness for the social agencies and social forces which can shape a community. Further, he has both the formal and the informal contacts with all of the other intra-educational institutions that serve his and the other local communities.

Through these potential and established contacts, the school principal will have to activate liaisons, establish channels of communication and coordinate the efforts and in-

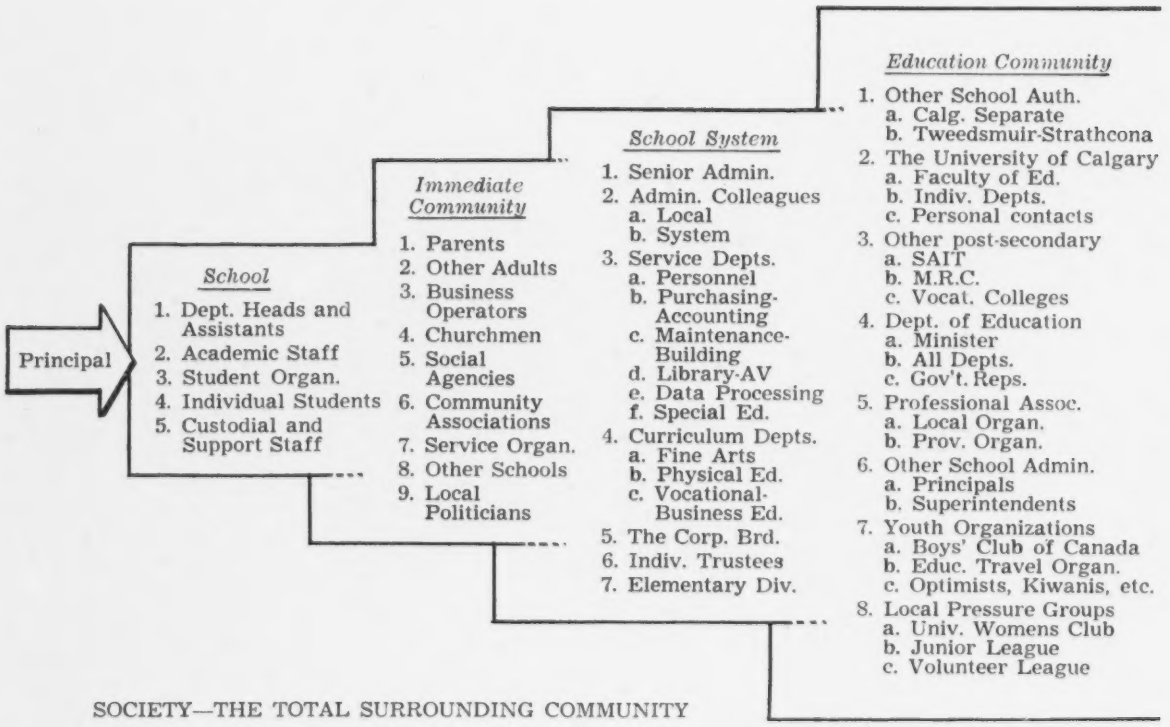
terests of those whom he will then represent. The school principal must provide the knowledgeable THRUST that will reclaim the promised land that is now so heavily mortgaged.

The following model should be considered as a dynamic representation of the relationships that exist between the various agencies that are interested in education today. If the principal's public relations program is truly effective, then, the rectangular groupings should accordion into a more unified education milieu.

As part of the solution, this educator, turned diplomat, will require a basic understanding of the nature of public relations and the interacting agents that produce community developments. This first model represents the relationships that must be developed in order to ensure effective public relationships.

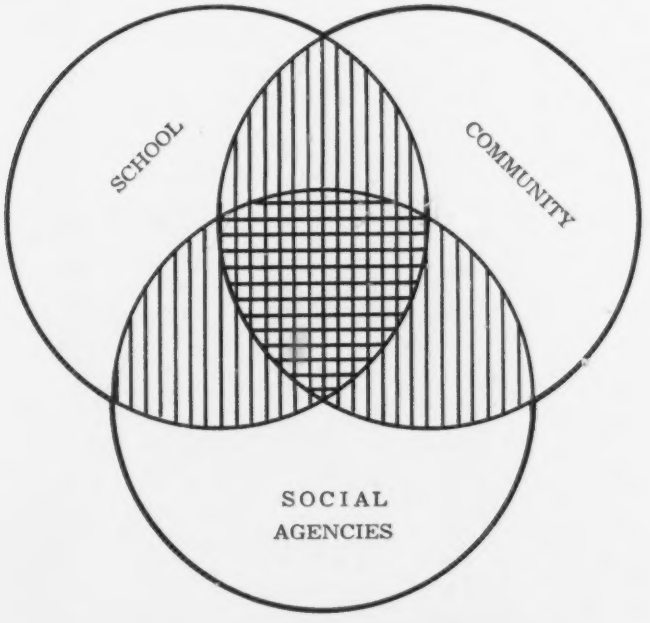



The intersecting areas reflect the relative effectiveness of liaison between the educational partners; the central triple intersection represents the scope of an educational P. R. program.


Principal
School
1. Dept. Heads and Assistants
2. Academic Staff
3. Student Organ.
4. Individual Students
5. Custodial and Support Staff
Immediate Community
1. Parents
2. Other Adults
3. Business Operators
4. Churchmen
5. Social Agencies
6. Community Associations
7. Service Organ.
8. Other Schools
9. Local Politicians
School System
1. Senior Admin.
2. Admin. Colleagues
a. Local
b. System
3. Service Depts.
a. Personnel
b. Purchasing-Accounting
c. Maintenance-Building
d. Library-AV
e. Data Processing
f. Special Ed.
4. Curriculum Depts.
a. Fine Arts
b. Physical Ed.
c. Vocational-Business Ed.
5. The Corp. Brd.
6. Indiv. Trustees
7. Elementary Div.
Education Community
1. Other School Auth.
a. Calg. Separate
b. Tweedsmuir-Strathcona
2. The University of Calgary
a. Faculty of Ed.
b. Indiv. Depts.
c. Personal contacts
3. Other post-secondary
a. SAIT
b. M.R.C.
c. Vocat. Colleges
4. Dept. of Education
a. Minister
b. All Depts.
c. Gov't. Reps.
5. Professional Assoc.
a. Local Organ.
b. Prov. Organ.
6. Other School Admin.
a. Principals
b. Superintendents
7. Youth Organizations
a. Boys' Club of Canada
b. Educ. Travel Organ.
c. Optimists, Kiwanis, etc.
8. Local Pressure Groups
a. Univ. Womens Club
b. Junior League
c. Volunteer League
SOCIETY—THE TOTAL SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

Good community relationships exist when the influences of the school, the local school authorities and the community residents effectively permeate each other so as to facilitate the free exchange of information. Public relations are based upon mutual respect, personal concern and clear understandings.[1]

The next model is intended to demonstrate the relationships that exist between the main participants in a community development program. Community growth is normally a local phenomenon which is contained within definable geographic boundaries. While outside factors are involved, the main interactions are likely to be concentrated in the community concerned.




Again, the intersections represent the degrees of interaction between those involved in community programs, while the area of the centre intersection reflects the productivity of all of the interactions.

It would appear that the two functions are closely related and that the complete delineation of all the factors involved would be very difficult. The suggestion that I would put forward is that educational public relations are the processes or the vehicles which facilitate the initiation of worthwhile community developments. One gives rise and purpose to the other.

The credibility of education as a social institution is obviously dependent upon sincere, honest and purposeful public relations developments. I would like to suggest four steps that appear to be important for the establishment of a sound and lasting program.

1. We must examine closely the public's opinion about the purposes and processes to today's schools.

2. We must plan changes in those policies and practices which do not enjoy public support, and at the same time, we must arrange to emphasize those that do meet with their approval.

3. We must open up all possible communication channels so that the public may have complete information about our programs and practices, a full understanding of our educational philosophies, our goals, our objectives and our plans for achieving them.

4. We must develop a program of enlightenment that will dissuade the public from maintaining its unfavorable attitudes towards schools, and one that will be aimed at encouraging the development of more favorable ones.

These four, very general guidelines, could serve as the planning format for a public relations program. If we, as educators, accept the premise that public schools really belong to the people, then I would submit that we have both a moral and a legal responsibility to readdress ourselves in this area.

Finally, I would like to submit that the grass-roots solution lies in our classrooms. All of our colleagues must accept the responsibility of establishing sincere and purposeful relationships with their students, relationships that reflect recognition of individual worth and personal importance.

The best possible public relations program will centre around the development of the community's children. We

must demonstrate everyday, that all that we are doing for the people in our schools is being done with their best interests in mind.

Very few organizations enjoy the advantage that schools have; the students we shape and educate today will soon be the public to whom we will become accountable. What better group to start working with?

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# 5

# Deterrents to Accountability

S. P. HENCLEY

We are living in troubled times. The past decade has witnessed an increased and broadened interest in education from all segments of society; much of this interest has been generated by conflicting values concerning important educational issues. Social controversy has surrounded most proposals of salient significance to schools. Witness the turmoil associated with issues such as the provision of equal educational opportunity, integration, appropriate financial support structures, and local versus centralized control.

Coupled with controversy and conflict has been a serious erosion of public confidence in the ability of existing institutions to meet legitimate social needs. Demands for accountability have reached crisis proportions in some institutional sectors. Widespread dissatisfaction has been registered concerning the quality of our air and water, the scarcity and cost of needed medical services, the inability of courts to handle an avalanche of cases, the deteriorating economic and social life chances available to minorities and the poor, the presumed educational outcomes of schooling and other issues of critical import. There are increasingly strident calls for bringing the poor and disenfranchised into a meaningful interface with schools; for revamping both teaching and curriculum; for decentralizing bureaucratic structures; for making schools the advocates and defenders of children from discrimination and exploitation stemming from poor housing, deficient diets, skimpy medical care, and neglect by public

agencies. The placidity and social stability of the 1940's and '50s have clearly been replaced in the late '60s and early '70s by a broad and insistent panorama of social turmoil. Schools and other social institutions have been engulfed in a flood tide of exponential social change.

It is against this sweeping social backdrop that educators must assess the growing public clamor for accountability in education. Clear headed assessments are needed *now* concerning the philosophical-idealogical commitments to this concept; the political-legal constraints and motive powers surrounding possibilities for its acceptance; and the technological-economic changes necessary for its implementation. The need to begin discussions about possible deterrents to accountability is both urgent and timely. My purpose is to begin this dialogue, and to do it selectively in terms of philosophical-ideological impediments, political-legal impediments, and technological-economic impediments.

## PHILOSOPHICAL-IDEOLOGICAL DETERRENTS

Despite the clamor, and notwithstanding the initial surface acceptance of certain accountability ideas by some public bodies and some educators, several compelling deterrents to accountability are beginning to surface in the philosophical-ideological arena. These deterrents find their genesis in value conflicts surrounding the purposes that are to guide the operation of schools.

### *Humane Versus Accountable Schools*

*The first deterrent highlights a humanist-behaviorist conflict. The push to make schools humane runs counter to the philosophy of accountability.* In the concurrent push toward humane schools and accountable schools, we are witnessing the confrontation of two powerful educational ideologies. On the one hand there is resolute support among Silberman's many follewsr for making schools less grim, less joyless, less mutilative of spontaneity, less destructive of creativity, and less ruinous to the development of a healthy self-concept. On the other hand, there is an equal insistence among Lessinger's followers for movement toward accountability — with stress upon clear objectives, validated procedures, and a complete public reporting of outcomes. Campbell's recent

analysis of the conflicts stemming from this confrontation of ideologies is worth pondering:[1]

> The accountability movement stresses precise objectives, planned allocation of resources, specified procedures, and measurement of outcomes. The humane or informal school, on the other hand, places great stress on spontaneity, flexibility, individual differences, and creative experiences not only in the academic subjects but also in the arts. There is little concern with measurement and great concern with feeling, joy, and openness. One movement is highly rational and precise. The other is largely impressionistic and flexible. In a sense, it is the difference between a science and an art.

Incompatibility between humane schools and accountable schools on other counts has, of course, not escaped the attention of professional groups. The American Federation of Teachers has already served notice that it views currently implemented performance contracting arrangements as contributing to the dehumanization of the learning process. As evidence, the Federation cites these facts: Performance contracts depend on programmed instruction wedded to material incentives for motive power. The individualized learning arrangements create fierce competition among pupils to see who can amass the most money, radios, or green stamps. Saretsky has also highlighted a number of unattractive possibilities in his article titled, "Every Kid A Hustler:" (1) Performance contracts place confrontation power in the hands of students since willfull performance or non-performance can influence the rewards and penalties of both teachers and contractors. (2) The tying of teachers' salaries to student performance may be opening a powerful new avenue for hustling teachers, and for student-based extortion.[2]

*Individuality Versus Friendly Fascism*

The conflict between what might be termed "stress on central planning for accountability" and "stress on individuality for humaneness" becomes even more sharply focussed through analysis of the meaning of these movements at the broad societal level. Harman's analyses tend to place the humanist movement in line with the development of a "person-centered society."[3] The accountability movement, on the other hand, has much in common with what Gross has

characterized as friendly, "techno-urban fascism."[4] The characteristics of this type of fascism encompass centralized management of the economic, political, social, cultural, and technological aspects of society. The main tracer elements of friendly fascism can be identified through extrapolation of salient trends during the past fifty years — especially ballooning economic growth and technological expansion as foremost social purposes, with artificial stimulation of consumption and human wants to provide the necessary push to sustain such goals.

The extent to which "friendly fascism" can become a model for the western world, as suggested by Gross, will depend to a large extent on the extent to which large segments of society are willing either (1) to drift unwittingly toward such outcomes, or (2) to abandon or compromise traditional, sacred values in commonly accepted secular practices. Time alone will illuminate future choices on this score at the societal level. Harman, however, has made clear the nature of future critical choice-making needed in the education field:[5]

> In one familiar version, accountability implies accounting in terms of behaviorally defined objectives agreed upon by the society and its delegated officials. In this form, it tends to be associated with individualized curricular management (IPI, PLAN, etc.). Diagnostic tests, modality preference and cognitive style determination, criterion-referenced tests, etc., enable the teacher to place the child on a continuum and to prescribe the next appropriate educational experience, to choose the mode of instruction to fit the individual, and continually assess progress. Management information systems, performance-guaranteed contracts, PPB systems, and the like all contribute to overall effectiveness in achieving the chosen behavioral objectives. It sounds like progress, but it could lie directly on the charted path to friendly fascism.
>
> On the other hand, the pressures of growing consumerism, insistence on self-determination, fear of manipulation by those with expertise, push for a different concept of accountability. This version refers to the basic principle . . . that society is ultimately accountable to the individual . . . It rejects the factory-inspired

quality control model and puts its trust, rather than in expertise, in the ultimate ability of the consumer to choose wisely. Evaluations take such forms as independent audits and "consumer reports."

Perhaps no other issue within education will reflect so faithfully the larger societal issue of "which future?" as the issue of accountability.

In the absence of theoretical framework powerful enough to resolve such incompatibilities, the full acceptance of one alternative over the other is clearly out of the question. Each will act as a deterrent to the acceptance of the other. Moreover, the inherent ideological conflicts between humaneness-accountability, and central planning-individuality cannot be satisfactorily resolved without attention to other issues which pose substantial hurdles to be overcome:

1. Will accountability become the Orwellian big brother in educational decision-making about program directions and emphases?
2. Will the push to accountability encourage the teaching of the readily quantifiable and discourage areas where quantification is difficult?
3. Are we ready to live with the educational rigidity and structure that may accompany the quantification needed for accountability?

*Education for Trivial Ends*

The difficulty of quantifying many educational goals and the relatively primitive status of quality control mechanisms in education leads to another set of philosophical deterrents: *Premature marriage between education and existing accountability mechanisms may tie the education enterprise to the pursuit of inconsequential ends.* The programmed systems undergirding performance contracts are still very much tied to the achievement of cognitive objectives at the lower end of Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.* High order cognitive objectives, or objectives in the affective domain are seldom encompassed. As yet, the systems and rhetoric of performance contracting and accountability have failed to include educational goals that befit an encompassing perception to the human condition.

One is tempted to ask what is to become of the higher order intellectual social, personal, and productive goals of education as these have been enunciated and pursued during past centuries? We know that stress is placed in accountability literature upon teaching children to read and to count. We also know, as did Plato, that teaching children to count and to read will not necessarily make them virtuous. Yet, in the consideration of what makes a complete man there is almost universal agreement placed on the need for *intellectual virtues* such as the love of learning, and discrimination and imagination; *social virtues* such as cooperation, the proper exercise of civic rights and duties, loyalty and patriotism, appreciation of other peoples; *personal virtues* such as the appropriate development of physical, emotional, ethical, and aesthetic components of living; and *productive virtues* such as the ability to make a living, to buy and consume intelligently, to fit harmoniously and productively into a home and family. It is appalling to face the prospect of setting inconsequential goals for education through pressure to adopt the underdeveloped technology and vision currently bolstering accountability concepts in education. After all, shouldn't education prepare people to live a life — as well as to provide tools to earn a living?

*Reflection Versus Reconstructionism*

There is a final important philosophical deterrent associated with accountability and its handmaiden, performance contracting. It is important because it focuses centrally on the role and purpose of schools: *Accountability and performance contracting emphasize the conserving rather than the changing functions of education.* Accountability and performance contract systems are philosophically oriented toward the perfection and validation of "what is" rather than the exploration of "what ought to be." The conserving, reflective stance permeates accountability thinking in relation to what is to be taught and learned. Such a philosophy pays scant attention to the reconstructive, change roles of education. Educational outcomes are relegated to the trailing, rather than the growing edge of social movement. It is unlikely, for example, that Count's question, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?," will ever be raised in the context of accountability experiments and performance contracts. This unique form of tunnel vision concerning the aims, purposes,

and roles of education looms as a serious issue — especially for the many who are unwilling to accept a limited, truncated role for educational institutions.

## POLITICAL-LEGAL DETERRENTS

Consideration of the political-legal ramifications of accountability reveals a number of resistances that may be viewed as serious deterrents.

### *Governance and Responsibility for Education*

Fear is at the center of the first political deterrent: *There is an uneasiness about the effects that accountability (including performance contracts and the voucher system) will have upon the governance and control of public education.* The role of the public and of elected boards of education in policy making for education is deeply ingrained in our political philosophy, and universally accepted in both Canada and United States. Any attempt to diminish or to circumvent the public's policy-making roles in education is typically resisted and viewed with suspicion. In recent pronouncements, however, performance contractors have begun to suggest that they should be allowed to operate outside the framework of school board policies. The president of QED, Inc. is quoted as saying, "The schools have to be careful not to put constraints on contractors." Statements of this kind forecast a possible drift in policy-making to a newly emerging industrial-educational complex. The public's resistance to a consequent loss of control could seriously deter implementation of accountability procedures.

A second dimension of the possible loss of control finds expression in apprehensions surrounding the voucher system. There are those who see the voucher system as a huge governmental cop-out because of its thrust to shift responsibility for providing educational services from public to private agencies. If the cry in the 1980s is that our children are still not achieving, the appropriate governmental response might well be to "choose another school" or "get another performance contractor." Could it be, some ask, that the voucher system is a cynical national strategy for reducing governmental responsibility (accountability) in providing needed educational services?

Stiff resistance and opposition to the voucher system is being registered from a number of different sources. In the United States, The National School Boards Association voted this year to strongly oppose the education voucher plan since it would "encourage the proliferation and growth of nonpublic schools and cause a corresponding erosion of the American public school system." The NSBA noted further that a voucher plan would "lead to segregation of many children . . . in private schools according to race, religious denomination, ability, or educational philosophy." The net result would be to saddle the public schools with the handicapped, and with those disadvantaged and minority groups unable to meet the entrance requirements of the private schools. Further negative features include the possibility of a breakdown of the church-state barrier with another form of aid to parochial schools; and the encouragement of quack schools to snare unwary and unsophisticated parents.

The 1971 meeting of the American Association of School Administrators registered "grave alarm" concerning the prospect of a voucher plan. Possible outcomes of vouchers were detailed as follows: "the schools, traditionally operated in the public interest, would be removed from the public to private control — control by each parent, which carries decentralization to absurdity; noneducational issues, such as race, background or ideology of students or staff, could determine a school's income, hence its size, its ability to function effectively, and its survival; a massive bureaucracy would be necessary to enforce safeguards and regulations." In reference to performance contracting, it should be noted that although the 1971 NSBA convention endorsed experimentation with performance contracting, the AASA cooly noted that "when school districts contract with commercial organizations for part or all of the educational program, the result obtained may appear to be the desired one, although it is all too likely to be specious."

The emphasis on testing in the accountability movement has raised a red flag among those who fear that the results of testing will be used for comparative rather than diagnostic purposes. Is it possible, they ask, that future school board elections could be won or lost on estimates of school production?

Nor can we easily dismiss the political implications of the uneasiness of teachers concerning certain dimensions of

accountability. Teachers are disturbed about trends (1) to centralize decision-making about teaching and learning; (2) to reduce the autonomy and freedom of professionals by viewing teachers as hired hands; (3) to base pay on industrial piece work concepts with incremental gain based on standardized test results (a backdoor form of merit pay?); (4) to subvert collective bargaining processes by replacing negotiated contracts with agreements between contractors and their own private staffs; (5) to use accountability as a vehicle to punish, to scapegoat, and to fix blame for performance inadequacies.

Possibly the most serious political deterrent to accountability among professionals is that accountability practices appear to present major roadblocks to the continued development of freedom and autonomy for teachers. Both NEA and AFT support the position that it is absurd to ask a profession which has no authority to govern its own standards, to account for presumed failings in its performance. The NEA has made clear the conditions it sees as being necessary to move toward accountability:[6]

> . . . teachers must have the major voice in deciding those matters that relate directly to teaching . . . they must be largely responsible for determining who shall be candidates for the profession and by what standards teachers shall be prepared (including accreditation of institutions), evaluated, retained, dismissed, certified, and given tenure; how teachers shall be educated in service; how the curriculum shall be developed; and how media and materials shall be selected. Only when teachers' expertise is applied to these determinations can teachers be held more accountable.

The political implications of the NEA statement are inescapable. A reading of the Canadian scene indicates that the Canadian Teachers Federation is very much in sympathy with the NEA view, and may be closer to achievement of closure on these issues than either NEA or AFT.

*Court Tests Needed*

The legal deterrents to accountability stem largely from uncertainty: *Major issues stemming from accountability experiments have not been tested in the courts.* It may be, for example, that performance contracting (as it is currently

practiced) is illegal. Its legality hinges on the courts' answer to this question: Is it permissible for school boards to contract for services with an outside group when the board already has employees hired to provide these same services? School districts, as creatures of the state, possess very limited powers to contract. Where a school district has a *duty* to perform a task (as required by state delegation or constitutional declaration) it must carry out that duty. Attempts to contract out for the performance of such tasks may be void. As yet, there are no judicial decisions relating directly to educational performance contracting.

A second possible legal deterrent stems from the fact that policy-making functions delegated by the state to a school district may not be further delegated to a private group. Since the judiciary tends to scrutinize the policy-making roles of districts even more intensely than their powers to contract, districts must be careful not to delegate policy control in contracting for services.

Other interesting legal questions are sure to be tested in the courts sooner or later. Who, for example, is liable for quotas set but not met in a performance contract? Must state certified personnel be used in carrying out contract provisions? Only the schools' experience in the courts will determine which of the issues discussed will ultimately become deterrents to accountability.

## TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERRENTS

Leaving aside deterrents in the philosophical-ideological and political-legal spheres, let us turn to an examination of four formidable deterrents in the technological and economic arenas: (1) the need for precise definition of learning outcomes for students, (2) the need to invent, develop, and install teaching-learning technologies capable of producing defined outcomes, (3) the need to design measurement devices that can give valid evidence of adequate system performance, including teacher performance, (4) the need to provide resources for the research, development, diffusion, and installation costs of such educational improvements.

### *Defining Learning Outcomes*

We noted earlier that a premature push to incorporate full-blown accountability systems in schools could tie education to

the pursuit of trivial ends. Defined performance outcomes, and systems designed to achieve these outcomes, are largely lacking in education. Quantification of higher order educational aims is very difficult — even in areas where societal agreements are possible among education's plualistic publics. Thus, the development of quantified, behaviorally-based performance outcomes to cover the full spectrum of agreed-upon public expectations for schools is destined to be a long-range undertaking. Until precise definitions of outcomes become available, the measurement of educational output will remain largely fortuitous, and implementations of accountability will tend to founder. Moreover, higher order intellectual, social, and personal aims of education have not, as yet, yielded to the precise behavioral definitions required for accountability assessments.

*Teaching-Learning Technologies*

Our knowledge about teaching-learning processes is still relatively primitive. We do not know what educational processes best translate educational inputs into desired educational outputs. Four years ago, I detailed some of the reasons for this state of affairs:[7]

> (1) the knowledge base undergirding education is relatively weak — great expansions in basic knowledge appear necessary; (2) specialized roles in the areas of research, development and diffusion are relatively undefined — training programs for specialized roles require extensive development; (3) provisions for experimental innovation in education are scanty — the development of effective linkages among specialized change roles requires intensive attention; (4) since developmental activities lack system, educational inventions often remain invisible, undocumented and inaccessible; (5) there is a lack of a professional network of trained and competent change agents and communicators in education and, consequently, dissemination activities lack effectiveness; (6) specialists in education lack extensive creative working relationships with social scientists — the disciplinary base of participation in educational research has typically been narrow, and has often been restricted to educational psychology; and (7) the research roles of various educational agencies at local state, regional and national levels have tended to remain unclear.

The development of knowledge about teaching and learning sufficient to undergird the engineering of pedagogical success is destined to be a mammoth programatic undertaking. Success will require attention to research; development of facilities for storing and retrieving knowledge; attention to training research workers; and emphasis upon field testing, demonstrating, disseminating, and installing research findings. Shortcomings in this area may constitute serious deterrents to education's ability to move to full accountability:[8]

> . . . it is not inaccurate to say that provisions in the past for the development and diffusion of educational innovations have been both weak and discontinuous. Most usually, development activities have been centered in local school districts, with some assistance provided by individual university consultants, state department of education consultants, and university bureaus of field service. Few of these arrangements, however, have provided avenues for attacking development problems in a systematic, programatic fashion. Programatic approaches to development have appeared more characteristic of activities carried on by publishers and test builders than of formal education agencies.
>
> Planned, massive strategies for diffusing educational innovations have also been largely absent in the past. Most diffusion activities have been directed by governmental education agencies — primarily through conference and publication routes. Demonstration and field testing (prominent for many years in the agricultural diffusion model) have been relatively underdeveloped phases of the change process in education. Moreover, there has been no accepted process for legitimizing educational innovations in education. Medicine and agriculture have special agencies for this function (that is, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Agricultural Research Center).

The particular circumstances just cited indicate the need for long-term development of the technologies undergirding teaching and learning. Until this is done, the primitive state of knowledge vis-a-vis learning processes will deter movement toward accountability.

*Measuring Performance and Output*

Up to the present time, standardized tests have constituted a major vehicle for assessing student performance in accountability experiments and performance contracting. Recent developments, however, indicate that standardized tests are soon to become the flies in the performance contract ointment. A study just completed at the University of Illinois by R. E. Stake and J. L. Wardrop has found that the reliability of gain scores on two alternate forms of the same test is such that one-fourth of the pupils tested will show a year's growth in achievement merely because of the lack of discrimination by the tests. Another one-fourth will show a loss of a year for the same reason. The misinformation carried by such tests is significantly reinforced by the practice of repeated testing (such as the monthly testing in the Texarkana experiment). There is evidence to indicate that there is a 50 percent chance that two-thirds of the students will have shown a one-year gain by the fourth test — even if no instruction is given between pretests and post tests. In addition, the possibility of including standardized test items among the materials of instruction is ever present — as shown in the Texarkana experiment. Clearly, the development of valid, reliable instruments for measuring output will constitute a formidable challenge in any significant move toward accountability.

The move to make teachers accountable for their performance is also fraught with difficulties. Competent practice can be significantly equated with a particular performance result only when there is an extensive knowledge base undergirding practice. We noted earlier that such a knowledge base is largely lacking in our field. To judge professionals without such knowledge is hazardous. In medicine, for example, we do not judge a practitioner incompetent if he is unable to cure cancer, arrest heart disease, or reverse the effects of strokes. Yet, the emphasis on product occasioned by the push toward accountability appears to overlook many things, including the weak knowledge base in education, the absence of accepted teacher models, the lack of agreement in the profession as to what constitutes "good" teaching, the lack of diagnosis and remediation techniques on the part of many teachers, and the host of social, economic, and family background variables that may interfere with learning. Moreover, a recent editorial in *Saturday Review* has

raised a further issue surrounding the stress being placed on student outcomes as a measure of teacher effectiveness:[9]

> . . . As we focus increasingly on pupil performance as a measure of teacher effectiveness, however, it would be easy to forget the complexity of the learning process — that individual children are very different, that they learn different things at different rates, and that even the same child learns at a different rate at different times. If, therefore, the laudable effort to improve classroom practice by assessing teacher and school effectiveness merely results in placing more intense and sophisticated pressure on the children to perform, the very principle will be denied in practice, for if the concept means anything, it is that the ultimate accountability must be to the children.

Without remedy, each of the factors just cited will constitute a major roadblock to the implementation of accountability systems.

*Economic Deterrents*

A final major deterrent to accountability will be money. Developing accountability systems will be expensive in terms of needed research, development, diffusion, and installation costs. Futher costs will accrue from the necessary major revamping of teacher education. Significant investments appear necessary for new school plants and technology. And all of this must be done in an institutional sector where taxpayers, legislators, and school board members all have reasons for wanting to resist increased costs.

Nor can we gain much comfort from the projection of past performance into the future. In the United States, as recently as a decade ago, the total amount spent for research and development by the United States Office of Education was less than the amount allocated in agencies such as Commercial Fisheries, the Forest Service, or the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. The picture at state and local school district levels is even more dismal; and, I understand, is paralleled by a similar situation in Canada. The National School Boards Association has finally recommended (in 1971) that local school districts set aside 2 percent of their budgets for research and evaluation programs. This recommendation will be found to be a niggardly investment in progress —

most industries spend several times this percentage for research and development.

To push for accountability without tying in the issue of major costs is to practice the band-aid approach to educational problems. The society must guard against making accountability the new patent medicine in education; which, by the way, is a public policy equivalent of reducing pills and faddish diets that promise new panaceas without any serious change in our values or alteration in our commitments and conduct.

Much of what I have said appears to run counter to the mainstream of movement in the accountability arena. I judge this to be good: The issues must be raised and men of good will must debate them. We will need to debate issues surrounding humane schools versus accountable schools, individuality versus friendly fascism, ultimate educational ends versus lower level implementations, and the reflective versus the reconstructive role of schools. In addition, we will need to ponder the governance and control implications of accountability, the legal deterrents that may be associated with the movement, the response of boards, administrators, and teachers to some of its manifestations, and the impact upon children and the larger society stemming from its implementation. Finally, we must carefully consider our technological and economic capability to move ahead.

Our difficult times have spawned an avalanche of movement toward accountability. We need equal time for hardheaded consideration of major impediments. It would be tragic to be stampeded into something so far reaching in its implications as accountability without time to reflect and to think through major implications of a philosophical-ideological, political-legal, and technological-economic nature.

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# 6

# Accountability Through the Community School

D. CAMPBELL

Education, like any profession, has found the latter part of the twentieth century both challenging and provocative. The mass media has opened the padlock to the hitherto secret professional chest. What was at one time discussed in small groups around various university campuses, has found universal, public audiences. Two such issues have been accountability and community schools. Because of the relatively recent developments of these two topics, it might be expedient to look at both separately before actually exploring the field of accountability at the community school level.

The most fashionable cliché in education's vocabulary today is accountability — and we are likely to hear much more on the subject in the months to come. In the past it was the child who was held responsible for individual success at the secondary and post-secondary levels. This had merit, for it forced an individual to accept responsibility that would soon be necessary in the world of work. Possibly if a group of youngsters failed to progress then questions were asked about the teacher's capabilities, the equipment or the school facilities. More recently as we became aware of the child being a product of his home environment, a share of his success or failure has been credited to the family. Now, however, many other groups and individuals are being considered accountable. As new research is being done in

the field of the learning process, accountability is taking a variety of forms. School boards across our nation are talking about performance contracting. Here we see accountability in a very direct and tangible form. Likely the first such scheme was in December of 1968 when the community of Texarkana hired a commercial educational firm, the Dorsett Educational Systems, to establish a means of attacking the drop out problem of that area. In simple terms, such an agency contracts to provide instruction in certain subjects. It is paid an agreed amount for each student who achieves at a satisfactory level, but receives no payment for students who fail to perform. Such is one form of accountability.

Leon M. Lessinger describes accountability as a policy that carefully specifies precisely that for which a person or organization is responsible and to whom the answering or reporting must be made. Three fundamental premises comprise the basis for the accountability program:[1]

1. A promise to accomplish
2. An independent evaluation
3. A public reporting to all

Certainly it can be readily seen that accountability will demand a careful spelling out of the questions:

1. For what are the schools to be responsible?
2. Who shall be accountable?
3. How shall accountability be established?
4. By whom shall accountability be determined?

As challenging and controversial as these questions may be, many school districts have found the issue so essential that they have embarked upon energetic schemes in an endeavour to improve education through accountability. Listing and describing such schemes would be superfluous, suffice to say that the New York City local of the American Federation of Teachers has an explicit accountability clause written into its contract. Acknowledging that the schools, as presently constituted, do not serve all children equally, the contract states explicitly: "The board and the union therefore agree to join in an effort; in co-operation with universities, community school boards and parent organizations, to seek solutions to this major problem and to develop objective criteria of professional accountability."

What about the second component, the community school? In order to understand accountability at the community school level it is necessary to explore the underlying concepts that make up the field of community education. Community education is a process and as such lends itself more to a description than a definition. *Webster's Dictionary* defines process as a continuing forward movement, the action of moving forward. From such an account, one can readily see that efforts to define community education as a product runs the risk of narrowing the concept to a static state. Actually one of the essential elements in community education is its sensitivity to dynamics and change. So we could say the community education concept is based upon the fundamental premise that public schools belong to the people and that local resources can and should be harnessed to attack and resolve community problems. Community education provides a program of education for all ages, utilizing not only the existing facilities of the public system but other community facilities as well. Community centered schools, acting as a catalyst for the development of community education, provides for the development of academic skills. As well it furnishes supervised recreation, avocational instruction, supplies remedial and supplemental educational needs, furnishes meeting places for social and civic groups, provides a forum for the discussion of social problems and provides facilities for social and medical purposes. As educators have developed various aspects of the community school, four main types have emerged:

1. The school with community centered curriculum. In such a program the school sees the community as a resource for the enrichment of the program. Such a plan determines greatly the learning experience of a child.

2. The school with the vocation centered curriculum. The school here uses the opportunities provided by the community for work experiences.

3. The community centered function. In this type of school the emphasis is put upon developing the fullest use of the physical facilities of the school by various community groups.

4. The community service program. Here the aim is to improve the conditions of life in the community. Efforts

are made to co-ordinate the activities of many agencies with the school.

Regardless of the emphasis most schools are an amalgam of all four. One area of common agreement is the school-community interaction. The role of education is seen to be more than intellectual training. The school is viewed as an agency for helping to give direction to community growth and improvement. The antiquated idea of the 2 x 4 x 6 x 10 system of education is recognized. The 2 standing for education within 2 covers of a textbook, the 4 denoting the 4 walls of a classroom, the 6 being the 6 hours of a day and the 10, the 10 months of a year. From such a philosophy comes the idea and necessity of an open school; open in the evenings and holidays for use by the community residents. Of necessity the curriculum of the community school is flexible and changing in the light of community demands. Education is a total community concern, enlisting the services of all citizens as they are needed and can contribute. It serves all the community by studying needs and providing programs to meet those needs. From such observations one can conclude that a community school is an involved school. Participation is not only welcomed but encouraged and fostered. It can be readily seen that such a school literally thrusts laymen, staff and administrators into the realm of accountability. Possibly it could be said that since the time of Confederation the school has been held accountable to the community. In the days of the "little red school house," the lone teacher answered to her community. The unsophisticated rural society demanded a strong academic program. In particular accountability was evident in the depression years when a three hundred dollar a year teacher produced or was released. Although seemingly harsh on the profession the "lean years" offered a society interested in mere survival, an opportunity to express its wishes and in turn allowed the teachers to give a simple academic education. At the conclusion of the second world war came affluence and alienation. The professional gap appeared, laymen were content to leave education to the professional. Both mother and father were concerned over providing material things denied both by the depression and then war. Working parents had little time for school. However, when specialization demanded greater education expenditure and population growth demanded more and greater education institutions, education soon found itself as a popular "whipping post"

for a tax burdened society. Education Minister Clark, in his address to a conference on accountability at The University of Calgary in March of this year stated:[2]

> I would therefore appeal to you to recognize if teachers, administrators and professional educators are not able to work through the problems of putting together a practical and effective system of accountability in our public schools within the next couple of years there may develop overwhelming pressure on public authorities to design a system themselves.

With but a few years of grace left it behooves the teaching profession to face the facts and prepare to give sane leadership when called to do so. Before a community school can be held accountable for its actions it must recognize that it is just as it states — a community school — not just a staff's school, or a principal's school, or a student's school, or a community's school but everyone's school. A school where all share in success or failure. As all become involved this feeling or attitude will prevail. Such is the first requirement of accountability. A school district must be "ripe" for such a program. Teachers must see the benefits of a helpful not critical community so they in turn may grow professionally. As a follow up to the accountability clause in the New York agreement previously mentioned, the New York City Board of Education in February 1971 announced the retention of a New Jersey firm to devise an accountability design that will define the performance objectives of students and staff. Following this an administrative structure will be recommended for an accountability program. Referring to this move U.F.T. President, Albert Shanker says, "It provides teachers with the greatest protection they have ever known for it protects the successful teacher from unfair criticism and the poor teacher will have an indication of the kind of help or retaining they need to improve performance."[3] When a local board and a group of teachers agree to this idea then accountability has a much greater chance of success.

The second requirement of a successful accountability scheme is a sound well established communications system. This system must be responsible for informing all members of the program just what is expected to be accomplished. Such a system enables those in authority to be aware of

what is done throughout the program. The benefit from this awareness is that encouragement and commendation from superiors are essential ingredients for success. Thirdly any accountability program must reflect an organizational philosophy that inspires confidence and trust in all its members. At the community school level this is most important, for unless all members perceive the philosophy and can see the necessity of working together for the benefit of all, then success will be doubtful. The fourth requirement is that a clearly specified set of purposes must be spelled out with all informed of the goals. Once the purposes are formulated and clearly perceived, then realistic, sound standards may be agreed to and adopted.

In fifth place, once the purposes are clearly understood, then sound, ethical policies must be the basis for action. Once again if the policies are sound, then realistic standards and procedures will evolve.

A sixth requirement for a successful accountability plan is that the entire motive must be to improve the performance of each and every member. At no time must accountability be a device to merely expose the weakness of members. There must be a built in plan to upgrade, improve and help. If members go into the plan feeling it is a "hatchet" scheme, then success will be remote. Members must be aware of the positive aspects, they must sense success, they must as in the case of the U.F.T. in New York feel satisfaction in accomplishing.

Point number seven depends on the skill of the supervisor. One of the keys to accountability is the skill a person in authority has in discussing the expectations and achievements with a subordinate. Every member of the accountability team is important and if a member leaves a conference feeling insignificant, ridiculed or embarassed then all might be lost. In turn if the superior possess the ability to inspire, direct and even admonish in a constructive manner, then progress will be achieved.

The final requirement although last on the list, is most important. If any program on accountability is to be successful then every member must be free to contribute to its success by participating in its design and implementation. It is the difference between a scheme thrown at the members and their own scheme. In this era of bureaucracy, big

business and impersonalization, alienation must be counteracted. This can only be done by participation which in turn will promote dedication. At the community school level this is vitally important. As committees of professionals and laymen set goals, standards, policies, etc., a better informed public will emerge and education will improve.

With these requirements for accountability clearly in mind, where does this leave the community school? With the community school being an involved school, it stands to reason that any accountability program will be by necessity an involved program. That same involvement assures a high level of accountability, for it is impossible to develop a full community school program without being held accountable. Robert Whitt of Drake University states: "What is often a threat to other educators is an everyday reality to the administrators with a district that provides real community education. The broad base from which this type of educational program operates is one which essentially eliminates indifference and negative criticism."[4] The community school philosophy is based on the premise that citizens and educators can work co-operatively, towards resolving their common problems. The tool that is used to bring about this action is often referred to as the "Citizens Advisory Council." Comprised of citizens, residents, businessmen, parents, professional educators, church ministers, etc., who work or reside within the school boundary, this organization has three prime functions:

1. To serve as a means of communicating between the community and the school's administration and staff.
2. To make decisions on matters that are of community concern and within their responsibility.
3. To advise the community of matters which are related to the school and of community interest.

In turn this larger council might be broken down into smaller committees with different and varied responsibilities such as:

1. Student affairs
2. Public relations
3. Community planning
4. Curriculum

The curriculum committee would serve as a vehicle through which parents might be involved in curricular improvement and in developing programs through which parents may help their students improve their educational competence. With everyone aware of problems, with them having been discussed at the council level, now as a co-operative venture they may be attacked. At this level, accountability might well be explored. Whether an outside firm be contacted to do the job or an internal program be devised the previously mentioned 8 points must be considered. Should the success factor look hopeful and a formal program be considered then a possible procedure might be as follows. Once the problem area has been discussed and studied, goals for the project must be set. Remembering that the clearer the idea a group has of what they wish to accomplish, the greater their chances of accomplishment, the group embarks upon a goal setting project. The main idea is to establish a set of goals and integrate individual performance with these goals and in turn to adapt a reward system to their successes. So all may share in the eventual results, a system of interviews are used in which subordinates have ample opportunity to participate in what is now *their* goals. From council to committee the ideas and well thought out goals are transmitted, discussed and modified at the lower level.

When properly administered such a scheme has several salient features:

1. It involves everyone
2. It forces management to think through purposes
3. It relates responsibilities of individuals to pre-set goals
4. It holds individuals accountable to practical tasks
5. Allows one to realize how his performance fits into an overall effort.

For the success of any accountability program, it would appear that the goal setting process is vital. No system can assure greater awareness and adoption of well devised plans and policies. Once goals are agreed to they are incorporated into a charter of accountability. This document contains a statement of the purposes, goals and objectives. The accountability charter or agreement first of all states in broad inspirational terms the purpose of the enterprise. Following the generally expressed purpose comes the more tangible and measurable goals and objectives. Goals and objectives

differ merely in their connotation of time. Goals are long-range end results that can be measured while objectives are short-range specific targets. Usually objectives may be obtained in as short a span as one year.

It is in the charter that the necessary financial commitment is spelled out. When an outside organization is hired to accomplish a task, this phase has to be clearly defined. A local community school task should be no less specific, for once again the more accurate such steps are spelled out, the easier and more meaningful the accounting. As well as the necessary financial statements, the administrative requirements will appear in the contract. Once the charter has been formulated and approved the program may start. Progress reports will be necessary so all may see how the program is progressing. The key to such reporting and evaluation will be the accountability interview. Certainly the program will achieve or fail on this very point. The skill of the supervisor at conducting the interview, the confidence he imparts to his subordinate, the inspiration engendered by his own enthusiasm all make for the success of the project. At the community school level this is most vital. Often the supervisor will be discussing matters with a volunteer, one who receives no remuneration but still one without whose efforts and talents, the program will fail. It is here that personal feelings and personal failures are discussed openly for only when this is done is it possible to improve. Previous to the interviews, the supervisor must have discussed his own performance with his superior and above all both must be very familiar with the charter. Towards end of the interview both parties might find it expedient to put in writing, areas of concern and possible methods of attack. This will give both an opportunity in subsequent interviews to view progress and at the same time give the subordinate a target at which to aim. Both personal and result orientated data will have to be reviewed constantly. In the result orientated field such aspects as test scores, grade averages, etc., must be studied and evaluated while in the person orientated data definite goals for performance must be observed. Here the instructor's personal contribution to the life of the student must be considered. Although difficult to assess — to leave unassessed exposes an important part of a student's life to chance. Here the supervisor works with the subordinate, advising where help might be found, ar-

ranging for that help and encouraging the subordinate to improve. At this level the information is confined strictly to the supervisor for growth is the keyword at this stage. If the subordinate has worked actively in setting up the goals and expectations, has confidence in his superior, is aware of the purpose for the interview, then growth will materialize.

So, from advisory council, to general committee, to specific participants; the accountability program has evolved. Once again a far cry from the simple one roomed set up of early Canada. However, history, necessity and circumstances have changed the face of education and possibly many might say "Oh just for the chance to plain teach once again." Here it might be well to cite a few areas of concern that *will* undoubtedly challenge the accountability theory and practice in the days that lie ahead. One look at the Canadian educational scene today with its "teacher glut" and concern might well be expressed over the fear that certain teachers in a purely defensive fashion will construe the program's intentions and retreat from its challenge in fear of their positions. Will administrator's view it as an extra job fraught by fears of community infringement? Will school boards view it as a system that will require more time given, more dollars spent and after all they have to answer to the public. The interesting point about these fears is that after all have been expressed, the public who still dictate by their financial controls might well force all to accept it, reluctantly or otherwise. It might be well to observe that even the little boy who kept back the raging waters by holding his finger in the dyke couldn't hold out forever. Does the school have any responsibility? A distinguished American educator, Dr. Ernest O. Melby of Michigan State University, in an address to a Minneapolis Community School Workshop stated:[5]

> No longer can schools assume that their failures will get lost in unskilled jobs. These jobs are getting fewer and fewer. Somehow we must now comprehend the fact that in our kind of society every individual must be educated. We can no longer tolerate educational failure. It has become too costly in money, social injustice and unrest.

As educators we realize all too well that youngsters from different homes do vary in their ability to cope with an academically oriented curriculum. We would be foolish to

ignore this fact. The concern might well be presented as to whether a school teacher, principal or director of an inner city school should be kept accountable for the same academically centered results as say a similar leader in a middle upper class suburban school? Once again such expectations would be basically unsound. As difficult as achievement might be in the inner city, realistic attainable goals might well be set. Certainly community agencies working with the school will make accountability more meaningful.

Proponents of accountability would be foolish to ignore the time problem in setting up any program. Are educators and for that matter all of society, prepared to accept the role of a principal as that of a manager and supervisor and less as one deeply involved in the functional administration of a plant? Once again our only hope lies in a school closely aligned with its community. A community must be prepared if such a program is deemed necessary to apply political pressure at the community level. An involved community will deem it a responsibility to be vocal, for after all governments too must be held accountable. It is ironic to realize that in the United States, with a trillion dollars gross national product, that education has been placed at the bottom while military outlay has been placed at the top. Is this governmental accountability? In this light, surely interested citizenry might expect governmental help.

Will the concern over the humanistic values of education and their assessment difficulties destroy the accountability movement? Possibly a new perspective of teaching might well have to evolve before progress will be attained in this area. Dr. Wm. R. Barber in his article, "Accountability Bane or Boon" states:[6]

> One of the most prevalent educational myths that has been hindering us for years is that learning is the result of teaching (by certified teachers of course) Tain't so! *Some* learning does take place as a result of *some* teaching but if teachers and principals would only regard themselves as learning facilitators, then possibly they wouldn't talk so much.

It is hoped that as facilitators of learning, teachers can still be humanistic, warm and sincere. Possibly in the latter part of his article Barber exposes both sides of the coin when he states:

> What we want to measure (and hold the principal and teachers accountable for) is *that part of learning that they have contributed.* This is going to be difficult enough for those skills that are quantifiable (e.g., math and reading) but I have long held that there are moral, ethical and spiritual concepts that a teachers transmits through daily living with his pupils that are more precious and more important than multiplication tables. The school business is not merely instruction but the *life* of the child.

What better equipped tool to draw together accountability at the academic skills and moral level than the community school? For community school educators have and are addressing themselves to the problem of acquiring the necessary skills to survive in this world and as well they have accepted the challenge to educate for a deeper more satisfying life.

If accountability is going to be successful it is going to have to have community wide understanding and confidence. Is holding teachers accountable enough? With merely the professional educator accountable have we involved the maximum number of influential agents that make up a child's learning experience? What about the Boy Scout leader, the Sunday School teacher, the parent or the baseball coach? Should they likewise be accountable? In thinking over our own lives, did not such groups greatly influence our way of life — is this not real education? The community school is an agent whose very precepts encourage involvement by such groups so greater learning may result.

Then one asks if being educably accountable to one-fifth of our population is enough? For example, what about our senior citizens? Alvin Toffler in his best seller *Future Shock* expresses the view that technology has produced and will produce a problem of "over-choice" which in turn contributes to a continual splintering of social groups. Toffler places senior citizens in this framework. Their families removed from the home, they see little need for a greater proportion of the tax dollar being devoted to an institution that was simple and unsophisticated in their day. Then, too, western society has been so possessed with the "teen-age phobia" that it has no qualms in devoting many hours and dollars to youth education while on the other hand it has

relegated education of seniors to nursing home personnel or some other group. Surely a society believing in education for all realizes a responsibility in this field. Involving the different cults and subcults in education, will be a challenge and a necessity. When viewed in this light accountability takes on a new meaning and significance. For if education is a process then it requires involvement by all for the betterment of all. Ignoring an agency whose very existence encourages and depends on community participation, public interest and clientele involvement would in itself be ignoring a vital component of success.

I am sure it is the desire of all that we somehow involve ourselves in improving education. As community citizens we can work with professional educators to clearly enunciate objectives and co-operate in achieving them. To do so we require a base from which to operate. What more logical setting than the local school. From such involvement might well emerge a nation wide re-alignment of priorities and offer a new way of life that will enable all of us to deal with changes necessary to bring accountability and commitment back into the Canadian way of life. Such a mammoth endeavour can not be done by one profession working in a vacuum. It can not be imposed on one profession by an alienated society. It is my firm belief that accountability and commitment will only find universal approval in a marriage not a divorce; in co-operation not isolation. Accountability, commitment, dedication involvement, change: all these are challenges in life. If and when that challenge comes, I'm sure community education will be prepared to serve.

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# 7

# Accountability and Student Participation

D. McKENZIE

The theme of this session and indeed of the whole conference is Accountability. It's a nice word with all sorts of good connotations, but I think that there is an inherent danger in bandying it about without knowing exactly what we mean by it. *The Oxford Dictionary* defines the word accountability as follows:

> "Liable to be called to account, or to answer for responsibilities and conduct; answerable, responsible, chiefly *to* a person *for* a thing."

Another dictionary defines it as:

> "The quality of being liable to be called to account; of being responsible, of answering for."

If any of you are Rowan and Martin fans, look that up in your Funk and Wagnall and that description is what you will find. As you can see from the above definitions, accountability implies a clear concept of responsible to other groups or individuals for one's action.

I firmly believe that one of the groups to whom administrators must be responsible for their actions are students. How is this accountability to be achieved? By student participation in the decisions that affect them.

Perhaps unknown to the conference organizers who asked me to speak on student participation, my experience in the field of student government began far earlier than my present participation at the university level. It began, in fact, with my experiences in elementary school as the chief playground supervisor. If you will bear with me for a few moments, I think it might be worthwhile to trace my own experience with student participation at various levels because I feel that there may be a message in it in terms of accountability. At the elementary level, my job as chief playground supervisor carried with it no salary, and very little power — except perhaps the power of ratting on a few of my friends if they happened to run afoul of numerous school rules. I had no part in making those rules — (they were made by the principal) — and I was closely supervised in the manner in which I enforced them. Nor did the principal have to answer to me if he meted out an excessively harsh or excessively lenient punishment to someone I had caught. In short — the accountability factor was zero.

Several years later, I was elected President of the Students' Union of the junior high school I was attending. Here at least, the students were united into a cohesive organization, and even had a budget of some $300. This sum looks fairly small in retrospect, but it seemed like a great deal of money at the time. In any event, the Students' Union performed some limited functions like putting on dances and plays every month (euphemistically referred to as Literary Events), supporting financially the school athletic teams, and publishing a school newspaper. It should be noted that all these functions related to essentially extra-curricular matters. No attempt was made to involve us in any way in areas of great concern such as school rules, curriculum, teacher evaluation, course content. Indeed, even our control over extra-curricular matters was tenuous. The administration arbitrarily allotted some $60 of our budget to help pay for new curtains in the gymnasium because it was felt that this would be a "nice gesture." In addition, new ideas were frequently stifled by the principal's use of his veto power over any council decision. Thus, at the junior high school level student participation was limited almost entirely to the peripheral areas of education, and even this was subject to rather stringent controls by the school administration. It was what Indonesia's President Sukarno used to refer to as "guided democracy."

Three years later, I found myself once again on a Students' Union executive, this time as the first Vice-president of a high school Students' Union. The scale of the activities of the Students' Union had changed considerably since we now had a budget of some $12,000 to deal with. But the scope of student involvement was still essentially the same. We were still limited to such vital areas of involvement as inter-school and intramural athletics, dances, frosh week, publishing a yearbook and a school paper — all the things necessary to promote "school spirit." But involvement in academic decisions was still missing. Indeed, on the few occasions when we attempted to bring student grievances to the administration, we were told that this was not within our area of concern. All too often, the only way we could get action on such matters was to take them home to our parents and have them approach the principal.

Such was the experience that I had during the first twelve years of my education. Subsequent conversations have convinced me that these experiences are pretty representative of those of most of my contemporaries. The result was that we had virtually no involvement or experience with decision-making on academic matters at all. The accountability factor was virtually nil — except that the odd principal could be forced into retirement from time to time if the students became upset enough with the way in which he ran the school. I am aware that some of this has changed in the five years since I have been in the school system. In some high schools, students now play an active part in determining attendance regulations, dress regulations, and other school rules. Some schools have even instituted advisory student committees on curriculum and course content. However, this is by no means universal.

All of this is in marked contrast to the situation at the university which I attend. The Students' Union of which I am President has an annual budget of over a million dollars; it owns a six million dollar building and is presently in the process of constructing a six and one-half million dollar housing project. To be sure, we are still involved in some of the activities which high school Students' Unions are involved in. (albeit on a somewhat more grandiouse scale.) But there is a whole new emphasis on involvement in the decision-making process of the University itself. Students now have forty percent of the seats in General Faculties

Council, which is the chief academic decision-making body of the University. On the other major decision-making body, the Board of Governors, there are three student members on the fifteen-member Board. Added to this, there are literally hundreds of students active on decision-making bodies at the faculty and department level. The process of accountability at the university level has been dealt with by direct student participation in the decision-making bodies of the university. This experiment in student involvement has been in progress for some time now, and it is almost impossible to find anyone in the University administration who is not pleased with the results.

On a qualified basis, I think that this concept of student participation in the decisions that affect them is essential if there is to be a true accountability in educational decision-making.

On balance, there have been two major arguments put forth as to why students shouldn't be involved in the decision-making process. The argument that is heard most frequently is that students are too young and immature for such a task. Proponents of this argument point to the numerous difficulties students have created as a result of campus unrest in many of the universities. They also point to some of the disturbances that have resulted when school regulations were liberalized in city high schools. There are a number of answers to such an argument. It has been postulated that maturity, like beauty, rests entirely in the eyes of the beholder. Indeed, it may well be that much of the behavior in young people which older people brand as "immature," is merely the result of changing life styles and attitudes on the part of a new generation. How much of this behavior can be said to be immaturity and how much is attributable to that old cliche, the generation gap? Do not be too quick to judge behavior which is unacceptable to your generation as immature. We expect our students these days to understand some of the most complicated and sophisticated concepts in the field of the physical and social sciences. Yet we claim that they cannot understand the problems of the school system in which they spend the greatest single portion of their time. Surely there is a contradiction here.

Our society seems to place a great deal of reliance on numbers as a definition of maturity. No one is apparently

mature enough to be a Senator in this country until he reaches the age of thirty. By the same token, twenty-one years is the age at which a person is mature enough to be an adult in many jurisdictions. Perhaps we mature faster in the west, because the age of majority here is now eighteen. Just what is this magic wand that suddenly bestows upon a person the wondrous quality of maturity when he celebrates his eighteenth birthday? Obviously, the answer is that there is no such magic. Maturity is the result of life-long developmental process, not an overnight transformation. Despite this, I think that there is a tendancy among educators to think that because students are not yet 18, that they are not yet adults and therefore shouldn't be entrusted with any major decision-making role. I am constantly amazed at this attitude, yet it seems to be a prevalent one. I was looked upon as too young and immature to take part in academic decisions in high school. Yet only two years later I was the vice-chairman of the committee which selected the new university president. I assure you that there was no change in my own maturity drastic enough to account for such a tremendous change in level of responsibility. Clearly, a new approach is needed. In the same way that maturing is a gradual process, so must the process of student involvement be a gradual one. You have to learn to crawl before you can walk, and to walk before you can run. This is one reason why I am surprised at the shock of some educational administrators when students are suddenly handed power and abuse it. In many ways, it is to be expected. You cannot deny a student the opportunity to make decisions for the first nine or ten years of his education and then suddenly give him power and expect that he will handle it well. Instead, students should be gradually encouraged to make decisions, at first in an advisory way in essentially peripheral areas, and then in more and more direct ways on more and more important items. There is another aspect to this question of maturity. As a rule, if a person is given responsibility, he will exercise that responsibility carefully. It is when he feels powerless and frustrated that he is likely to resort to irresponsible acts. If student councils appear irresponsible these days, it may well be a result of this lack of power. Indeed, I am told by many high school students that high school students' unions are no longer taken as seriously by the students because they don't seem to be "relevant." Dances and sports are fun, but they are secon-

dary in importance to the quality of education students are receiving. The result of this lessening in the prestige of students' union is that a poorer calibre of leader is sometimes elected. "Inflict Joe X on the Administration" was the slogan of one Students' Union candidate recently and this approach had considerable popular appeal. The lesson: if you want students to act responsibly, give them responsibility.

The other argument that has been used extensively by those who oppose student participation is that students are essentially transients, that they never stay long enough in one educational institution to become really familiar with its problems. This argument was perhaps best summed up by a political science professor during the recent debate at The University of Alberta on student representation. "I know of no nation on earth," he said "that grants voting privileges to tourists." At first glance, this might appear to be a cogent argument — until one realizes that the average tenure of a teacher in a given school is scarcely better than that of the average student. In these days of easy mobility, both students and staff are constantly changing. In addition, the problems involved in education are not that fundamentally different from institution to institution. Continuity is important in an educational institution, but so is change. The comments of Dr. Wyman, President of The University of Alberta on this matter commend themselves to our attention.

> Although I admit we must have continuity to accomplish the goals of an institution, the inertia generated by a large and multi-bodied institution is, in my opinion, much more than a sufficient safeguard of the continuity of purpose of such an institution. In a society whose needs now change so quickly, we must take positive steps to provide for the mechanism of change, and transience certainly provides one source of ideas for change.

There have been other arguments against student participation in decision-making. One is that students will "gang-up" to overwhelm faculty and administrators who may be split on an issue. Yet experience shows that this is just not the case. Students are individuals like anybody else. There are radical students and conservative students and they are not any more likely to agree among themselves than the faculty are.

It may well be that teachers and administrators are possessed of more collective wisdom than are students. This should not, however, be used as an argument against student participation in decision-making. If one group is possessed of greater wisdom, it should seek to exercise power by persuasion, and not by position.

I have tried to deal with some of the arguments that are frequently levied against student participation in educational decision-making. I would like to outline some of the reasons in favour of such participation. On a societal basis, I think that such a move would result in a greater commitment to the democratic process we purport to govern ourselves by. One of the touchstances of democracy is the concept that citizens must have a voice in the decisions that affect them. How can we expect a strong commitment to this concept when we deny students an opportunity to participate meaningfully in the issues that affect them during the first eighteen years of their lives? A gradually increasing involvement in decision-making processes would do a great deal to prepare students for responsible citizenship after they graduate.

In addition, student input into educational decisions appears to result in more balanced decisions being reached. This, at least, has been the experience at the University. On many occasions, the fact that student views were present prevented particular councils or boards from inadvertently making a decision which would have worked a great hardship on students. Also, a student view provides another useful dimension to the background information on which decisions must be based.

Thirdly, student participation in decision-making increases the students' commitment to the institution and to the decision made therein. It is perhaps only human nature that an individual tends to have a greater commitment to a decision which he had a part in making. Give a student a meaningful role in formulating a decision and he will defend that decision as he would his own.

Student participation is also a useful safety valve. It acts as a pressure point where students can express their grievances in a constructive way. Without this opportunity to express their views and attempt to have them implemented, students tend to feel frustrated and powerless. The cumu-

lative effect of such frustration and alienation has frequently been violent protest, with students feeling that the only way to bring about change is to man the barricades and take to the streets.

Finally, student representation in the decision-making process immeasurably improves communication between students, teacher, and administration. It allows for a constructive exchange of viewpoints. Indeed, the very process of decision-making often helps to bring desperate elements closer together as they jointly seek to resolve common problems.

For all these reasons, student participation is both desirable and essential to the achievement of true accountability in our educational system. There are a number of levels at which such accountability must take place — within the classroom, within the educational institution, within the school system, be it public or separate, and finally at the provincial level. There are no easy answers as to what kind of student participation is desirable at each level in order to ensure accountability. I would throw out the following ideas as suggestions.

At the classroom level, which for better or for worse is still the basic unit of our educational system, accountability can be achieved in a number of ways. It can be achieved by more effective grievance procedures which will allow a student to make a complaint without fear of retaliation. It can also be achieved through evaluation of teacher performance by students. Many people are somewhat concerned about this concept of students "grading" teachers. However, research done in this area reveals that students' evaluations of teachers and teachers' evaluations of their colleagues frequently coincide. The correlation at the university level, according to Professor McKeechie, is .87. That means that in eighty-seven out of one hundred instances, students and professors will agree on a particular evaluation. I think that the experience with Course Evaluation Guides at the university level has demonstrated that evaluation of teaching ability can be an important tool in improving the quality of education and in making teachers accountable for their performance in the classroom. A further possibility is to involve students more extensively in planning the way in which the class will approach a particular subject matter. Ideally, there

would be a small committee elected by the class which would work with the teacher, providing him or her with suggestions and feedback from members of the class.

Perhaps the most critical level of accountability occurs at the institutional level — be it a school, a college, or a university. One of the proposals I would make is that schools should be substantially governed by school councils in which all interested parties — staff, students, administrators and community people are represented. One of the important aspects of such representation is that no one group should be so large that it can dominate the others. This ensures that there is an adequate dialogue. If one group achieves its objectives, it does so in a persuasive manner, not through the coercive power of superior numbers. There is a tremendous advantage to involving all these groups in one decision-making body. It results in a more-rounded process in which all positions are discussed jointly, with all the other interested parties present. I have already discussed the advantages of student participation, but I think that there are also a number of advantages in participation by parents and community representatives. A common comment one hears from educational administrators is that it's not the kids who are the real problem — it's the parents. This is probably true in many ways. Parents tend to be out of touch with developments in the field of education. They still think of education in terms of their own experiences twenty years ago. Involving them in decision-making would help to get them more in touch with what is going on today. In addition, it might help to enhance the credibility of the school system in the eyes of the community. Reaction of the public might well be "John Jones is on that committee and I've always thought he was a pretty level-headed guy. If he's in favour of that proposal, there must be a good reason." Certainly it would help to allay some of the suspicion of educational decision-making if the community realized that there were people involved in the decisions who were representing the community's interests.

The Ombudsman concept is another one which should be looked at carefully as a mechanism for insuring accountability. Many high schools are now reaching a size which makes it difficult for them to be responsive to the needs of individuals within the system. Inevitably, some rights are infringed by an insensitive bureacracy. In such circumstances,

it would be useful to have a person within the system who would investigate students complaints and deal with them if they are justified.

Student participation and input is more difficult to achieve at the school board and provincial levels. At the school board level, serious consideration should be given to the concept of inviting a certain number of student representatives to attend board meetings as consultants. They would be allowed to participate freely in debate, but would, of course, have no vote. At the provincial level, there should be greater participation by students on many of the advisory councils which the government sets up to deal with certain areas of concern.

All of these are merely suggestions. But they all embody the concept of involving students directly in the decisions which effect them. The real issue when it comes to student participation is as follows: Are we prepared to bring out into the open the students' view of the institutions providing for their education, and are we prepared to give students an effective voice in remedying the defects that are acknowledged to exist? If we want a system in which there is true accountability, the answer to that question must be an unequivocal yes.

# 8

# Accountability in a Permissive Society

H. ZENTNER

Accountability and permissiveness are, quite clearly, logically opposite notions. And in order to comprehend how it is possible for such logically opposite categories of phenomena to coexist culturally, socially, and psychologically we need to recognize that the labels we append to these categories refer fundamentaly to value-orientations. Since values constitute abstract criteria in terms of which choices are made between alternative behavioral responses, there is no inherent reason why a given value-orientation need be systematically adhered to in the practical realm of day-to-day behavior.

Indeed, it is evident that for at least several centuries now we in the West have preached the absolute necessity of such values as freedom, democracy, equality and individuality in the political realm, while in the economic realm, in the world of work, we have been equally insistent that inequality, hierarchy, technological discipline, and highly authoritarian forms of decision-making are both necessary and desirable. Quite clearly, therefore, given value-orientations, even though logically contradictory and incompatible, may be held simultaneously by differing groups or diverse segments of any given group as well as by individuals.

The analysis attempted in the present paper has, accordingly, been predicated upon the assumption that the camel of accountability somehow got its head firmly placed in the tent of permissiveness and that it is unlikely to depart voluntarily and without at least tearing a few of the guy lines by means of which the tent of permissiveness is anchored. It seems essential at the outset, therefore, to avoid being misled by the apparent semantic novelty of the labels "accountability" and "permissiveness." For in many respects they represent nothing more than old wine in new bottles.

The general idea of accountability is at least as old as the Old Testament, and it clearly occupied a central place in that conception of the ideal character structure which has come to be called the Protestant ethic. Even in the field of education it has been with us more or less intermittently and in one form or another since the turn of the century.[1] Thus, from an historical perspective the current emphasis upon accountability may be regarded as a revival of a much older value-orientation, one which seeks to re-establish some semblance of adherence to the tenets of the traditional Protestant ethic and to effectuate a more favorable balance between privilege and responsibility in present day society.

Alternatively, the label of permissiveness obscures a striking parallel between the conception of man adopted by the adherents of the Cult of Permissiveness and the Medieval notion of man as a moral weakling whose capacity for sin and waywardness was of such magnitude that it was necessary for the Church to invent a conception of God as a font of infinite mercy and compassion. The emergence of this new Cult must be regarded as the end product of a social and ideological movement which dates from the early 1920's, and which in the years since World War II has all but succeeded in restoring to pre-eminence a modified and seemingly secularized version of a social ethic that began to pass out of vogue in the Christian world more than four centuries ago.

Thus, in order to comprehend the current and prospective relationship between these two value-orientations it will be necessary to relate each of them to its own ideological antecedents; to examine their respective images of man, their major operative assumptions, and the larger value configurations in which they embedded.

## ACCOUNTABILITY

Although the demand for accountability here in Canada is being articulated at the present time by politicians, this value-orientation it would appear, has its most immediate support among those less-educated taxpayers whose children are experiencing success neither in the school system nor in the market place. These and other sub-categories of persons are demanding that professional and paraprofessional persons engaged in the provision of publicly supported services, whether they be medical doctors, public school teachers, or university professors, comport themselves responsibly; that they diligently seek to achieve a reasonable degree of improvement in the quality of the services they provide; and that they, in keeping with the traditional work ethic, evidence due concern for increasing both efficiency and effectiveness of their respective service systems.

It is clearly evident, therefore, that the notion of accountability rests squarely upon that historical conception of the ideal character structure which has been called the Protestant ethic.

As the label suggests, this particular social ethic has its ideological antecendents in Luther's reformistic theological premise that the individual conscience is a more reliable instrument of salvation than the authority and sacraments of the Church. It adopted as well from eighteenth century philosophy the notion of rationalism. Thus instead of arriving on the scene full-blown at some given point in time, the Protestant ethic must be viewed as a slow and gradual ideological development which did not reach its fullest social expression until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In its mature form, however, the Protestant ethic was distinguished by its faith in man and in the perfectability of human society. The type of character structure which it idealized was one that was physically, mentally and morally virile. And being virile, the person who embodied the ethic was seen as highly independent and self-reliant, and hence responsible for his own welfare.

Such an ideal character structure was most fully manifest in men of action and of enterprise, for they exhibited both high motivation and high initiative. Such men had great and enduring confidence in their own judgment and skills and

a corresponding contempt for the authority of custom and the opinion of their compeers. Such men were, above all, seen as creatures of reason who were guided by the evidence of their senses in all practical affairs.

To the adherents of the ethic it was self-evident that failure to act reasonably could result only from ignorance, and ignorance could be overcome by scientific examination of the surrounding environment. Hence the tendency to construe the world in mechanistic terms; to assume that all problems are technical in nature and therefore theoretically amenable to solution, provided only that the right formula or method can be found; and to defer gratification in the present in order to realize augmented gains in the future. Hence, too, the endorsement of such values as activity and work, science and secular rationality, and achievement and success. No less important was the tendency among the adherents of the ethic to emphasize personal responsibility, whether in the realm of religion, work, or welfare; to openly stress the merits of competition; and to stridently insist upon the utmost freedom for business enterprise.

## PERMISSIVENESS

Quite in contrast to the Protestant ethic, the Cult of Permissiveness has not yet developed a full-fledged and positive social ethic. It remains, rather, a state of mind, one which is, significantly, almost wholly negative.[2] Its supporters are found largely among the better educated members of the healing and helping professions which comprise a large segment of the middle-class. Included in these subcategories would be many teachers, most counsellors, clinicians, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and many psychologists as well as numerous other types of social scientists. The children of these people, because of the advantages they enjoy by virtue of their social background, are seldom in serious difficulty either in school or in the market place. But all this notwithstanding, it is the parental fear of what *might* happen to their children if certain psychological assumptions are not accepted and acted upon that moves middle-class parents to action. And it is because they are able to give articulate expression to these several assumptions that they become a powerful social force to which institutional leadership and action must accommodate itself.

Ideologically, the adherants of the Cult owe as much to Freud as they do to such psychologists as Erickson, Maslow, and Rogers. And while individually and locally variable, depending upon the specific mix of Freudian and non-Freud concepts, the adherents of the Cult of Permissiveness are distinguished by their lack of faith in man.

In the permissive view, man is a weak, irrational and irresolute creature. He is devoid of the necessary stamina to endure the trials and tribulations of living; and because of this defect in his character, his experience of life is for the most part joyless, lacking in zest, and wracked with conflict.

Freudian, and with some variation in terminology, neo-Freudian doctrine has it that the individual's physiological and psychological development progresses in stages and eventuates in a tripartite mental structure consisting of the id, the ego and the superego. These postulated psychic entities become differentiated from one another in part as a consequence of the individual's response to social and cultural demands which are made upon him. And because such social and cultural demands are seen as antithetical to and in conflict with the impulses which emanate from one or another of the postulated psychic entities, the individual will inevitably develop one or more psychic complexes. It logically follows that the greater and more stringent the social and cultural demands made upon the individual, the greater the resulting conflict, the more certain it is that complexes will arise, and having arisen, the more severe and more debilitating they will be.

Thus, just as the Medeival Church looked upon man as a creature who was conceived and born in sin and whose sole hope of eternal salvation was the mediating power of the Church, so the disciples of Freud see man's frailty as genetically determined and his only hope of relief from his inescapable dilemma is to find and submit to the therapy which can only be supplied by a competent psychoanalyst.

In more recent years the Freudian doctrine which rests upon the notion of instinctive forces operating inevitably and invariably within the human organism has been replaced by a new and slightly more flexible doctrine which postulates a hierarchy of innate and interrelated psychological needs.

According to one school of psychological thought, these innate needs are five in number.[3] Included are: (1) physiological needs; (2) the need for security; (3) the need for belonginess; (4) the need for recognition; and (5) the need for self-actualization or self-development.

These needs vary in their intensity as well as in the time of their appearance. Physiological needs as well as the need for security are held to be extremely elemental and hence appear at birth and remain powerful throughout life. The higher levels of need, i.e., the need for recognition and self-actualization, by contrast, are regarded as comparatively weak and emerge only later in life and, significantly, only if and when lower level needs have been satiated.

Thus, a society which has succeeded in satisfying basic needs for physiological survival and security is faced with the demanding task of providing opportunities for the winning of recognition and avenues for the pursuit of self-actualization. For just as a person who experiences physiological deprivation may suffer malnutrition and become ill, so the person denied the realization of the higher needs will likewise suffer mental deprivation and become mentally ill. Hence, since these needs and requirements are innate, it is essential to manipulate and organize society in such ways as will maximize the need-satisfaction of individuals.

Since external coercion threatens to violate the individual's innate need for self-fulfillment, self-expression, and above all self-determination, the adherents of the Cult insist that society or its duly constituted agents should avoid any and all attempts to inculcate the individual, most particularly the child, with any socially prescribed personality attributes — motivations, goals, values, sentiments, or feelings of personal obligation. They further insist that the individual should not be required to submit to any form of social authority, whatever its character; neither should he be required to accept responsibility for his own or anyone else's welfare. Indeed, the only thing he should properly be concerned with is the preservation of his precarious psychic balance.

Hence the insistence upon the requisite degree of permissiveness in the home, the requirement of a progressive, adjustment-oriented school, and such things as job enlargement, power equalization, and professional self-determination

at work. Hence, too, the tendency to adopt an organismic approach and to assume that all problems are organizational in character which require therapeutic manipulation of the external environment; to abjure the deferment of present gratifications whatever the promised future rewards might be; to emphasize such values as equality, freedom, security, adjustment, and individuality; and finally, the tendency to deny the validity of the notion of personal responsibility, to reject competition, and to institutionalize the fear of failure.

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Needless to say, neither of these two value-orientations has any demonstrable scientific validity. But both of them have a large measure of social acceptance and validity, and it is for this reason that the current and prospective relationship between them assumes importance. For it can scarcely be denied that they are currently in conflict and are likely to become increasingly more so in the future.

During the past two decades the adherents of permissivism have enjoyed a considerable measure of success in their attempts to extend democratic values and permissive practices into the heretofore authoritarian world of work and instrumental activity. The adherents of accountability, by contrast, most particularly in the face of rising costs and a plethora of new categories of public services which are clamoring for support, currently find it necessary to attempt to not only recover the lost ground but to go even further and extend their demands for social accountability and responsibility into spheres of activity which were traditionally under professional jurisdiction.

As we all know, medicine, long regarded as the queen of the professions, has not proven entirely immune to the virus of political control. And if the sociological principle of limits has been once again validated in case of medicine, we can confidently expect that we in education will not long be spared a similar ordeal. An increasing polarization between the adherents of the two value-orientations, therefore, seems inevitable. And should this occur it seems extremely likely that the educational administrator will be caught in an ideological cross-fire. Undoubtedly, it is he who will in the first instance be charged with the implementation of accounta-

bility. It is him that there will be handed the task of making the educational system both more effective and efficient. And this may pose some novel issues.

To the extent that the forces of accountability achieve ascendancy in future, the role of the teacher will in all liklihood undergo modification in the direction of greater emphasis upon discipline, drill, and a revival of the older pedagogical methodologies. Their inferiority to more modern methods does not appear to be so firmly established that a switch in educational priorities would necessarily preclude the finding of persuasive evidence that they were not so inferior after all.

It is likely, too, that pressures for accountability will usher in curriculum revision which will move it in the direction permitting more precise specification of learning objectives and more reliable measurement of results.[4] This may well imply that some parts of existing curricula will be pared off and handed back to the home, the church, or the employer where this is feasible, and dropped entirely where it is not.

All this may very well mean setting ourselves apart from and over against our erstwhile professional colleagues, the classroom teachers. This would imply a retreat from the current role conception of the administrator as educational leader and a return to a more enlightened conception of administration as a supervisory role. As long as we maintain a loyalty only to our immediate employers our situation will no doubt prove tolerable. If, however, our loyalties are divided between our employer and our professional colleagues, we could be forced into a position wherein we would encounter an unbearable burden of role conflict. It is not unlikely, therefore, that if the pressure for accountability mounts sufficiently, a separate professional organization for school administrators, with clear legal definition of the administrator's rights as well as his duties and obligations, will be called for. Significant steps in this direction have already been taken in the realm of tertiary education. And the advent of similar developments in the realm of public education seemingly cannot be for long delayed.

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# 9

# Accountability and Management

J. P. WESCOTT

People are deeply concerned these days about the problems of our schools in both our nations. We *can* argue about which problem heads the list — student unrest, teacher military, drug abuse or lack of discipline, to name a few. But there is *no* argument about the importance of money as a problem. People everywhere are worried about rising costs and an overburdened property tax. The growing and widespread taxpayer resistance to voting increased funds, even when it means severe cutbacks in school services or closing them down, is proof enough of trouble. The optimism about the value of education is still there but serious doubts have sprung up about schools being able to deliver on promises.

It is no longer possible to avoid the conclusion which the President of the United States stated in the very first sentence of his March 3rd, 1970 Education message: "American education is in need of reform." *And reformed it will be.* Not one of you in this room holds doubts about this statement. The question is, "Who will do the reforming?" Will we, as professional educators sit quietly while societal pressures of all kinds push and pull public education into a new shape and then leave the structure for us to administer? Or will we, as professionals, take a directive part in this reshaping so that we can live with the *new* organization? I see few suggestions coming from the professional educators at this time.

One idea for reshaping has evolved. It goes under the name of Accountability at the present time, although my colleague Leon Lessinger who has been called the "Father" of this movement is now talking more in terms of "productivity" in education.

People have good cause for their economic concerns about education — especially when costs are related to benefits. It is precisely the comparison of rising costs with *provable* benefits that has triggered interest in accountability in education.

The amounts of public money budgeted both in Canada and in the U.S. during the past few years certainly show that the public has not been stingy with dollar inputs to education. But what of the products? What of the outputs of the educational system during that period? What has the public received in extra student accomplishment, for this money?

Surprisingly, we educators do not really know. We do know of some public complaints. We do know of the complaints of businessmen who hire graduates who cannot read directions, spell correctly nor write a correct sentence.

We do know a whole lot about some aspects of our educational system. We know how many teachers there are, what degrees they hold, how old they are, and even how tall they are. We have reliable statistics on school buildings and how old and how tall they are. We can pin down per-capita expenditures. We even know how many laboratories are in operation.

We do not know, however, specifically, what is produced by all these teachers, buildings, laboratories, and dollars. We don't know what the students are learning. We cannot describe how close our schools come to accomplishing what they aim to accomplish nor identify, in any precise way, the strengths and weaknesses of the system. We have no measure of progress or the lack of it over time. In the critical field of reading, for example, we do not know what it costs on the average to increase a youngster's reading achievement one year.

Accountability is that policy declaration which has the potential of sparking the reform needed in both administration and in instruction so we *can* provide answers to these

and so many other questions our publics are currently asking about our operations.

Accountability heralds a new age for education. It will not be another educational fad — because the businessman who, after all, pays the bills for public education is at last taking a keen interest in how we spend his money.

According to *Webster's Dictionary,* accountability is "the condition of being accountable, liable or responsible." When the word is used by school people it suggests the holding of the adults who are involved in the education of children responsible for what they do in terms of relationship between *objectives promised, resources applied and outcomes realized.* As I have said, it is a matching of intent to results: a comparison of what was supposed to happen with what did happen.

The concept conveys the meaning that professional educators *should* be held answerable for children's learning. Held answerable to the public. It suggests, further that if this can be done, favorable changes will be seen in academic achievement, and pupil attitudes. We will have, in general, better educational results.

Accountability refers to the process of expecting each member of an organization to answer to someone. It presupposes that each member of an organization has joined that organization to further its purposes as well as his or her own purposes. It presupposes that all professional educators, teachers and administrators keep organizational goals and objectives clearly in focus. Making people accountable for their organizational behavior *has* the potential to ensure that the organization will attain its goals.

> To quote Leon Lessinger . . . accountability is the product of a process. At its most basic level, it means that an agent, public or private, entering into a contractual agreement to perform a service, *will be held answerable* for performing according to agreed upon terms, within an established period of time, and with a stipulated use of resources and performance standard. This definition of accountability requires that the parties to the contract keep clear and complete records and that this information be available for *outside review.* It also suggests penalties and rewards; accountability without regress or incentive is mere rhetoric.

Isn't it ineresting that the public does not pay the doctor, lawyer or the garage mechanic if he does not do what he said he would do. But the public does pay the public school teacher when he does not deliver on promises — when the pupil does not learn. What is even more interesting is that he *expects* to be paid for failure. A rapidly growing number of influential people in America are becoming convinced that it *is* possible to hold the schools accountable for the results of their activities as they hold other important agencies.

In his Education Message of March 3rd, 1970, President Nixon stated, "School administrators and school teachers alike are responsible for their performance, and it is in their interest as well as in the interests of their pupils that they be held accountable."

We are all aware — and in some instances frightfully aware — that this major press for accountability is coming from the taxpayer through his local board of school directors, through his state board of directors, and through his legislators.

Educators traditionally think in terms of inputs — new programs, more dollar for educational materials, higher teacher salaries, and the like. Traditionally, the task of making next year's budget has involved taking the present year's budget and adding a percentage - 8% — 10% with the weak excuse of some increase in students and teachers, or programs, or salaries. Seldom, if ever, is the budget prepared from a zero base with justification to the public for *all* expenditures in terms of a systems goals.

Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia is among the political leaders of the zero-budget concept. He has, this year, required all departments of state government and the institutions of public higher education to prepare budgets in terms of goals not in terms of how much was spent last year. "Starting from scratch" in the true sense. The need for our consideration of a professional response to this press for accountability is very great. Let me turn now to some strategies that educators could and should implement. And I feel very strongly that educators should take hand in this basic reshaping of public education.

Firstly, instead of being swept along by public opinion and by pressure groups, teachers and administrators *must*

*assist* the local communities, provincial authorities and the national government, in a determination of *WHAT THE SCHOOLS CAN DO*. And determine what of a youngster's education can best be handled by other educational institutions.

Secondly, we must focus our attention on results. At its heart, the only acceptable definition of effective teaching centers on how well the students learn. Teacher evaluation must change its focus from the traditional concerns of teaching dress, punctuality, manner, attendance at PTA meetings, the cleanliness and quiet of the classroom to the things which count most — how much did each child learn, does the teacher know and try *all* of the professionally known strategies to help each child learn?

The word accountability suggests to some teachers that the teacher will be held accountable for a prescribed amount of achievement by each pupil. This frightens teachers. I do not see teachers accountable for individual pupils learning but rather for knowing and trying all of the techniques and strategies available (and some she creates) to get each pupil to learn.

Still Johnny may not be able to read. The teacher cannot be faulted. Doctors lose patients occasionally. Lawyers lose cases after using all of their professional know-how. But if the teacher does not know or does not try all that is known about causing Johnny to learn to read she *is* at fault.

It would make much more sense if we included, along with the "per-pupil cost," a "learning-unit cost." This would focus attention on the level of learning and the accomplishments of children along with the analysis of costs of maintaining them in school.

Thirdly, professional educators must face many issues which we have been avoiding for years, such as the pupil time problem. Pupil time is one of the most precious inputs to the educational system. Over the years we have allowed more and more of this precious input to be taken away from us and used for attempting to teach topics which might be better taught by other societal institutions.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have spread ourselves too thin! As professionals, we must move toward helping our constituents to see this problem. Specifically, what is reasonable

for the student to learn or achieve in the four hour day, 180 day school year which is typical.

As professionals we must consider how to get more pupil time. Should we have compulsory attendance? Do *all* children need 12 years to grasp what public education has to offer? Or could some grasp it in 9? or 14? Should we not lead the public toward recognition of the fact that all people learn at different rates?

Other issues which we have studiously avoided must be seriously confronted. I see as being among the more important of these the questions:

1. What are the *unique* contributions of the school system to a broader societal educational system? And what are its limitations?

2. For what are school personnel responsible and to whom are they accountable?

3. What arrangements can be made in the community to enable schools to carry burdens for which they lack capabilities?

In principle our educational commitment has been that every child should have access to an adequate education. This is the familiar but still unattained principle of equal educational opportunity.

This commitment has been translated into dollar allocations for the people and the "things" of education.

Accountability demands a revised commitment — *that every child will learn.* In response to accountability a zero-failure program must be implemented. Individualized instruction — that which we have been talking about for two decades — will allow each student continuous progress towards attainment of a "full" education (reading, writing, computation, responsibility, morals, career education). Consider the following letter from a mother — "Eric may not be so bright as some others, but he can be a failure without going to school. I wouldn't pay a dime for a washing machine that wouldn't work, and I'm tired of paying for schools that make a failure out of my kid."

To quote again from Lessinger in a paper he prepared at the request of the Vice President of the United States in

1966: "The list of students and their educational needs is endless. They are all with us in the schools — the eager, the trouble-makers, the silent and withdrawn, the ones who are adept at learning and the ones with serious learning problems. *They should all complete a formal education* — capped with a diploma."

A school system which cares about its students does not permit a shoddy product in the form of an ill-prepared youth. No student should be permitted to receive a diploma who cannot display appropriate skill in the basic tools of learning, *but* no student is rejected for failure to meet appropriate standards. Appropriate for him. He is worked with, placed in special learning situations and provided an individual program within the district as a whole, until he *can succeed.*

*Success teaching* must become a most important teacher response to accountability. I refer to the constant use of positive reinforcement of each student coupled with:

1. Clear descriptions of the objectives to be reached by the student.

2. An explanation or a sample of the evaluation to be made of the student's achievement.

3. As well as a list of materials and activities from which the student will choose those which will help him reach his objective. In short, time may be varied, the place of learning may be varied, the approach, the staff and the materials may be varied but the aim should be single — the *success* of each student in mastering what he needs to master to become a productive citizen.

In response to accountability teachers will *increase their use of the technologies* of education. The use of learning systems which have been validated must become more prevalent. There must be better "standard" practices in the classroom. There must be an increase in the rate of adoption of good practices, an up-grading of bad practices to good, and an outlawing of *malpractices.* (Normal curve, for example.)

I am particularly pleased to have been recently included in the activities of the National Special Media Institutes which has been formed by a consortium of universities.

Professors from Michigan State, Syracuse, Oregon and the University of Southern California, with the assistance from the USOE have just completed the materials for a series of seven-day institutes to teach classroom teachers, supervisors and administrators the use of General System Theory in instructional development. It is truly a thrill to watch the institute participants applying performance objectives, systems analysis and system synthesis to the solutions of their own instructional problems.

The System approach is a tremendously powerful tool to be used by educators both in the area of instruction and management in response to the press for accountability. The System approach is goal-oriented, product-oriented, and is fundamentally characterized by:

1. A clear definition of the problem.
2. A rational listing of all limitations and constraints.
3. A listing of all logical alternative solutions.
4. The embarkation upon the most logical solution.
5. An almost immediate evaluation of the process and conjecture as to its ultimate success in reaching the goal.
6. An alteration of procedure if necessary.
7. A further evaluation of the new process.
8. Evaluation and revamping of the procedures according to the information feedback until *the goal is reached.*

Theoretically, the System approach will allow goal attainment.

For the school administrators accountability will require *strengthening of the board power as well as increased involvement of many publics* in curricular and administrative policy-making and hence an improved public understanding of education. Administrators must make increased use of proven management techniques such as what is referred to in business and industry as management by objectives and what we, in education, are attempting to adapt under the title of Planning-Programming-Budgeting-Evaluation System. I applaud the management techniques developed by the Research Council of the Association of School Business Officials and called by them Educational Resources Management Design. This design is fundamentally a System Ap-

proach to educational management. PPBES is, in my opinion, the one refreshing suggestion in the area of school management being made today.

It could be the foundation for a truly accountable school system. The Christmas tree for the baubles of accountability. I refer to such terms as performance contracting, independent audits, the use of risk capital, management support teams, quality assurance, quality control and many other terms which are currently borrowings from industry — and particularly engineering — as the baubles of accountability.

Under the process referred to as planning come broad goal setting, broad objective setting and perhaps the development of charters of accountability by school district advisory committees and boards of directors. Needs assessment and problem definition, as well as the broad design strategies of requests for proposals might also be duties of the planners. To be most relevant and effective this planning must be done by the citizens of each community with gentle guidance only from professional educators.

Under the processes involved in programming come the "fleshing out" of charters of accountability, the developing of requests for proposals for more specific programs and performance contracting. The programming professional educator would be reponsible for objective setting in strict performances terminology and suggestions of payment of incentives from developmental capital.

Budgeting is, in terms of PPBES, basically a reconciliation of *all* resources to outputs. The process of budgeting as carried on by the Budgeting Committee will also be one of reporting upon the allocation of resources and upon the reports of the internal educational assessments in terms of the resources allocated. For the sake of effectiveness, this Committee should include principals and teachers. It should not consist solely of business managers and accountants, for they are not qualified by professional training to make educational decisions.

Evaluation or assessment will take into consideration various modes of proof to gain quality control. The Evaluation Committee will work closely with the Independent Educational Accomplishment Auditor (IEAA) toward quality assurance. If the activities of the various groups of educators

and laymen are to be effective in bringing about a System Approach to school district management they must be continuous and they must make full use of sensors and feedback.

This is not to say that we must wait for a complete PPBES system before utilizing some of the more effective "baubles." As you are well aware many school districts have already completed performance contracts. There is a great deal more community involvement in educational policy-making than there was. Due to the pressure of the USOE most school districts have established program budgeting in one form or another. Many school administrators in central offices and in individual school buildings are utilizing techniques of success teaching, incentive pay and individualized instruction toward accountability.

*Criteria of an Accountable School System*

Let me spend a few moments at this time to discuss what I would think we would see if we looked at a school system that is accountable. First of all we would notice a focus on learning — a recognition that teaching and learning are not the same — that individuals learn in different ways. The emphasis would be upon output, upon product, upon behavioral change in pupils. There would be a recognition that student failure is, in fact, an instructional system failure. Students would not fail but programs might.

We would see serious attempts to individualize instruction. The grouping of students as the *chief mode* of instruction would be seen as an admission of lack of competency on the part of professionals involved. We would notice teachers and administrators developing and using technology in terms of "what works" toward what ends.

We would see a distinguishing between good, poor and malpractice. There would be noticeable and serious search for efficient educational processes. Efficiency in terms of dollars, pupil and teacher time, facilities, etc.

We would notice evidence that educational issues had been confronted. Such questions as:

What *can* the schools do?

What are educators responsible for and to whom?

What societal arrangement can be made to assist schools where they lack capabilities?

These and many other questions would have been dealt with.

PPBES and performance objectives would be widely used. Performance Contracts may have been arranged and may be in operation. Collective type bargaining between teachers and the board would be more balanced. That is to say that the board would, in fact, have something to bargain with. The board would require specific performance of teachers and administrators in exchange for requests made upon them.

*What Administrative Competencies are Required in Order to Build an Accountable School System?*

The professional administrator of the 70's and 80's must understand General System Theory and the System Approach to educational problems and be able to apply these.

He or she must be able:

1. To develop acceptable performance objectives and to teach others to do the same.

2. To write acceptable units of programmed instruction and to teach others to write acceptable programs.

3. To link proper modes of proof to varieties of student learnings and to train others in the utilization of different modes of proof.

4. To prepare requests for proposals (RFP's) to meet priority needs and to successfully match performance contract bids with RFP's and to train others to do these.

5. To develop the critical elements of a PPBES model for his or her school or school system and implement the plan.

6. To develop a charter of accountability — based upon policy.

7. To develop a quality control system on stipulated priorities.

In summary, may I say that accountability is a no-nonsense business-like approach to education. It has to do with honoring promises. It is the comparison of what was supposed to happen with what actually happened. It is the

policy of demanding regular independent reports of promised student accomplishment for dollars provided. It is a hair-shirt policy — the response at budget-passing time to the request for more money with the question, "What did you do with that *other* money?" It is not just performance contracting, nor behavioral objectives, the systems approach to management and instruction, though these inventions may be useful in implementing an accountability policy.

In the final analysis, Accountability *is* the final analysis — the hearing to get the facts, to determine worth, to check results. It brings to school instruction the same flavor of assessment and feedback to alter procedure brought by the fiscal auditor to school finance.

Some spokesmen within the organized education profession see the movement for accountability and the current mood toward financing education as a fad. I believe they are wrong because education in the 1970's must fight at an appropriations table for tough competitive dollars desperately needed to solve a host of other problems. Even if a sudden surge of new money were to be made available the situation would not change. Left with the status quo, we would not see better school performance. All we would get would be more expensive education.

I leave you with a delightful bit of satire written by Finley Peter Dunne. It's a small piece of an argument between a couple of Irishmen — arguments between Irishmen seem to be commonly reported these days — Dooley is telling Hennessy about what education should be!

> To my mind, Hennessy, we're wasting too much time thinking of the future of our young, and thriving to learn them early what they oughtn't to know till they've growed up. We send the children to school as if it was a summer garden where they go to be amused instead of a penitentiary where they are sent for the original sin. When I was a lad, I was put at my ABC's the first day I set foot in the school, behind the hedge, and me head was sore inside and out before I went home. Now the first thing we learn, the future Mark Hannas and John D. Gateses of our nation is waltzing, singing, and cutting pictures out of a book. We would be much better teaching them the strangle hold, for that's what they need in life.

# 10

# Performance Contracting in Turnkey Operations — A Catalyst for School Systems Reform

C. BLASCHKE

Performance contracting has been hailed as the "hottest thing in education" by the news media, "Hucksterism" and a "conspiracy by private firms to take over public schools" by critics, and a "panacea" and "miracle worker" by zealots. Neither the critics nor overzealous advocates do justice to this "managerial innovation, limited technically and by the intentions of man himself."

The performance contracting — turnkey concept, applied first in Texarkana, Ark., two years ago, has been utilized in over 200 projects since then involving 20-30 firms, teacher associations, teachers and parents. This brief discussion will attempt to summarize the foundations of the concept, the variations in application, the results presently available, and its future. Some guidelines, based upon the Education Turnkey experience in planning, monitoring and evaluating over 40 projects, are also presented for those interested in initiating such projects.

## THE APPROACH

The performance contract-turnkey approach is a managerial tool designed to ensure that results are achieved in

a way that encourages responsible innovation. A school district would enter into a contract with an outside firm or an internal teachers' group to accelerate achievement of a limited number of students with reimbursement to the contractor based on the actual performance of the students measured by achievement or performance based tests. After a period of successful demonstration, the school would then adopt or expand the contractor's instructional program on a turnkey basis making the necessary changes in order to realize the potential cost-benefits of the contractor's program.

A school district could decide to initiate a performance contract-turnkey project for one or all of the following reasons:

1. to provide supplemental capability in a program area where it presently does not exist or would be too costly to develop internally (e.g., vocational training);

2. to use it as a vehicle for testing, analyzing and validating newly developed instructional systems in order to determine whether or not to adopt or expand them on a wide scale basis;

3. to assist in solving political, social and economic problems confronting school administration.

The heart of the performance contract-turnkey approach is the "performance specification," usually included in a Request for Proposal (RFP) sent to prospective bidders or local teachers' associations. This document includes not only the performance specifications desired, usually in terms of grade level equivalents or criterion reference based objectives, but also particular constraints such as the average amount of dollars to be provided per student and the student's time available to the contractor. Based upon the RFP, the contractor's proposed response, and face-to-face negotiations, a final contract evolves.

If the heart of the concept is the RFP, the life-blood must be the turnkey phase. After the project has been initiated for a period of 7 to 9 months, a turnkey analyses is conducted, usually by a Management Support Group, the purpose of which is several fold:

1. to determine the relative cost-effectiveness, usually in cost per some unit of achievement, of the contractor's pro-

gram, in mathematics and reading, for example, as compared to the existing school's program in similar areas with similar students;

2. to determine the economics of the contractor's instructional program for planning the nature and extent of the turnkey phase the second year;

3. to determine nature and extent as well as cost of management changes that have to be initiated by the school to achieve the project cost and benefits which the contractor has demonstrated could be achieved.

For example, the contractor could guarantee that the school could achieve 90% of the effectiveness which he demonstrated could be achieved utilizing differentiated staffing and incentive for both students and teachers if the school would incorporate such changes into the turnkey classes. A lesser guarantee would be offered if the school decided to adopt the learning system with only three days of teacher training.

Hence, the school superintendent will be able to consider alternative levels of costs and benefits in deciding the scope of the turnkey phase. He can present them to the school board with a leverage that previously did not exist. Moreover, the contractor not only demonstrates an effective program, but accepts the responsibility of providing a system that can be incorporated into or expanded within the school system on a turnkey basis with levels of guarantee. Therefore, the performance contract-turnkey approach should not be viewed as an end in itself. Rather, it provides a means by which the local school system can experiment in an effective manner, have a new instructional program demonstrated and tested in a local environment, and adopted the new program on a turnkey basis making changes within the system to ensure that the potential results can be realized.

## VARIATIONS IN PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

Applications of the concept during the last two years has varied with respect to rationale, the subject matter applications and the nature of the contractors' programs.

*Rationale*

Rationale School systems and federal agencies have viewed performance contracting as a low-risk, low-cost means for experimentation with various kinds of instructional systems. The cost risks are minimized since the contractor is paid according to the success of his program. Since the politics of experimentation in public schools are indeed a formidable force, the political risk of failure are also minimized — if the instructional program is not successful, then the contractor failed, not the school, thus providing a necessary scapegoat for serious experimentation. The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity utilized performance contracting as a technique for conducting a nationwide experiment in over 20 schools costing over 6.5 million dollars during the last school year. Other U.S. federal agencies are considering using the approach in a similar manner.

A few school districts have viewed performance contracting as long-run appendage. Dallas, Texas, which applied it to vocational training last year, intends to utilize contractors to operate an entire vocational training institute. Gary, Indiana is allowing BRL to provide services for a three year period.

A larger number of school districts are utilizing performance contracting to solve political, social and economic problems confronting them. Texarkana, Savannagh, Georgia and several other school districts have used performance contracting as an educationally effective and politically palatable means for racial integration. In other instances, where the community school concept is highly supported, school districts have proposed to utilize performance contracting as a means to insure "equity of results." The Dallas School District recently made such a proposal in its desegregation plan. An underlying rationale for its use in several school districts with powerful teacher groups has been to rationalize collective bargaining processes by establishing precedents such as "pay-based upon productivity," "differentiated staffing," and teacher accountability. Since performance contracting is simple in concept, although complex in realization, it also provides the opportunity for community involvement in the determination of performance specifications and in the operations of projects, since many contractors utilize locally trained community aides. One of the first major decisions of the decentralized community controlled District #9 in New York

City was to enter into a performance contract project, which was accepted strongly by the community. In certain school districts with aggressive teacher associations or faculties, administrators have used performance or incentive contracting as a means to delegate decision-making authority to the classroom level while holding the teacher accountable for results, thus leading to teacher "self-governance."

*Subject Areas*

Performance contracting is limited to those areas where objectives can be clearly defined and criteria for measurement mutually agreed upon. As a result, over 90% of performance contract projects in existence or being planned are directed toward mathematics and reading for underachieving, eduactionally deficient target populations in both elementary and secondary levels. Vocational training has been the area of secondary application of the concept, ranging from automotive mechanics to drafting for women. A small project in Jacksonville, Florida, used performance contracting in several elementary courses, including a program to increase the "creative thinking" capability of students. IQ tests were used as a means for measuring achievement for student performance. In Grand Rapids, Michigan, performance contracting is being used for the first time to improve the achievement in mathematics and reading of educable mentally retarded children, utilizing a unique learning system. Several firms as well as other groups have proposed to utilize performance contracting and providing instruction in music, band, social studies and even art.

*Type of Contractors*

The majority of the projects have been conducted by private corporations, some of whom have utilized teaching staff which remain under employment of the school district. Most of the firms have had past experience in program instruction, the use of teaching machines and contingency management. The vast majority of the firms are small to medium size. Performance contracting has not attracted the large educational firm because their materials in most instances are not competitive and the firms are anxious about reducing mark-ups to become competitive because of the establishment of precedents.

Rather than manufacturing equipment or software, the firms are generally systems management groups which utilize the material equipment which are commercially available and they feel will work best with the particular students. The instructional systems utilized range include those utilizing sophisticated teaching machines, computers or instructional management, prescription and diagnosis, and with high student ratios (one contractor utilized one professional, and 32 paraprofessionals for 600 students instructed in mathematics and reading). While some firms utilize material rewards, others rely more heavily on intrinsic motivation to increase the performance of the students. With the seemingly large variances in instructional systems design, several common threads appear.

1. Use of individually prescribed self-paced instructional programs.

2. Use of proven classroom management techniques to ensure the best use of the teachers' or classroom managers' time.

3. Use of paraprofessionals and differentiated staffing.

4. Use of programmed texts or programmed software combined with audio-visual media of presentation in many instances.

5. Use of contingency management incentives for teachers and students, either extrinsic or intrinsic.

In 80 to 90 per cent of the projects last year the firms guaranteed a minimum grade-level increase per child or no payment would be made (in the OEO experiment, the minimum grade-level gain was initially set at 1.0). In most instances, incentives were provided for incremental gains above the minimum level; in others, penalties were imposed on a prorated basis below a specified level of student performance.

In those projects in which the participating teachers remained on the payroll of the school, but were assigned to the contractor for the duration of the project, the contracted fee for raising a student one grade level per subject ranged between $45 and $70, with one exception of about $300. Payment to contractors providing total learning systems, including locally trained personnel to operate the centers,

ranged from $81 to approximately $220 per grade-level gain in mathematics or reading.

During the last year at least two *teachers' associations* contracted with the local board of education on an incentive contract basis whereby teachers could collectively earn several thousand dollars, which were to be pooled by the association teachers. In one of the projects, staff differentiations was utilized in the classroom; in the other a highly individualized program of instruction was utilized.

Several projects to be implemented this year will provide incentives for *individual teachers* and even *parents* based upon student performance. In a USOE sponsored project in four sites, teachers could earn up to $1,200 per class and parents $100 per child, based upon performance above the class expected gain. In Dade County, Florida, a project is being planned whereby teachers could earn as much as $110 per student for gains above expected levels; moreover, teachers would also be provided $55 per student to defray operating costs and have the option to utilize $55 per student as risk capital to invest in the classroom, with the contingency that if a student's performance is not above the expected gain, all $55 has to be returned. Each of the three local teacher associations would assist the faculties chosen to participate in the project. Briefly, performance contracting is a problem — oriented, concept, flexible enough to be applied to a number of areas by a number of potential "contractors."

## RESULTS THUS FAR

With achievement results from many projects still unavailable (e.g., the 20 sites in the OEO experiment), the following should not be taken as inclusive by any means since it is based upon the limited "hard data" presently available, impressions gained through observation and communications with both firms and school district personnel.

### *Cost-Effectiveness*

The major index for evaluating performance contracting, in the eyes of most administrators is cost-effectiveness. Any final evaluation of first-year performance must certainly await the results of the rigorously designed and evaluated

Office of Economic Opportunity experiment. Thus far, however, preliminary results from scattered projects indicate that the average rates of achievement in mathematics and reading for underachieving students were about doubled for a cost slightly more than existing cost per student year per subject. Since the "breakeven point" for most firms were higher than the grade-levels achieved, the fees actually paid were less than the firms costs, making the year more profitable for the schools than the firms in several instances.

*Cost of OEO Experiment*

The costs of the twelve performance contract projects analyzed by Education Turnkey staff using, for the first time, the COST-ED Computer Analysis Simulation Model, are rather revealing.

First, while many firms used similar materials, the economics of the systems varied significantly, especially regarding staff use, equipment, books and audio-visual costs. For example, in the control sites about 70-75% of total costs were spent on teacher pay and 1-2% on books, materials and audio-visual methods; the contractors spent 50-55% and 15-20% in the corresponding areas.

Second, compared with control programs, contractor's investment in instructional equipment significantly was greater in most programs.

Third, if schools adopted contractors' instructional programs, operating costs would be less than existing school costs per student/subject in over one-quarter of the cases and somewhat greater in the rest.

Fourth, achievement scores in contractors' programs would not have to be significantly greater than control program scores for contractors' programs to be more cost-effective than the schools. Assuming that the average control scores were .5 grade equivalent gain, the contractor would have to produce the following results to be equally cost-effective:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alpha Learning: | .53 | Quality Ed. Development: | .63 |
| Learning Foundations: | 0.82 | Singer-Graflex: | |
| Plan Ed. Center: | 0.67 | Westinghouse Learning: | 0.53 |

The reasons for variances and lower than expected costs notes in the Report to OEO included:

1. Lower classroom costs through better student scheduling and utilization of facilities, space and instructional equipment.

2. Lower staff costs through the use of paraprofessionals to operate self-paced, individualized student learning systems.

3. Reliance on instructional components with relatively low operating costs such as teaching machines, cassettes, and non-consumable programmed instructional packages.

4. Better management control *and* greater administrative and classroom flexibility than in traditional settings.

Before drawing hasty conclusions, school officials will have to await the achievement results presently being analyzed by OEO. Aside from the relatively high start-up costs involved in performance contract projects, a primary consideration must be the public's present attitude towards school costs and where costs should be cut.

## SURVEY OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES

The Gallup Survey of Public Attitudes Toward Public Schools (See September, 1971 *Phi Delta Kappan*) disclosed that the number one probuem facing schools is "finances" — where should costs be cut when local boards are forced to reduce total budgets? The general public is either emphatically certain about what constitutes good education policy and contributes most to student achievement, or is ignorant about the economics of school operations and budgeting.

To present a more detailed expression of the average citizen's feelings, the survey asked the public how school costs should be cut, when such cuts are necessary. Suggestions treated with *disfavor* by the public were:

1. reduction in special services such as speech, reading and hearing therapy

2. reduction of the number of teachers by increasing class sizes

3. reduction of all teachers' salaries by a fixed percentage

4. reduction in janitorial and maintenance services. Among the suggestions which the public found most *favourable* were:

1. reduction in the number of administrative personnel

2. operation of schools on a 12-month, rather than a 9- or 10-month basis

3. reduction in the number of staff counsellors

4. charging of rent for textbooks rather than providing them to students free of charge.

Most school administrators generally know that what the public wants to "cut" will not amount to much of a reduction. To quantify that feeling, the COST-ED Model was applied to some of the public's preferred choices using the data gathered for analyzing the *typical secondary schools* over the last year. Specifically, secondary education simulated costs were reduced as follows:

1. district administrative staff cut by 10%

2. the average number of counsellors at each school also cut by 10%

3. rent on one-third of the total cost of textbooks and library books would be charged to students.

COST-ED analysis indicated that these changes would have the effect of reducing the average per-pupil cost of eight-grade education from $912.59 to $905.89, a reduction of $6.70 per pupil or *less than 1%* of total costs.

In order to compare the results of the public's preference COST-ED analysis applied some of the suggestions which the public found least favorable to the typical eight-grade by hypothetically:

1. increasing the average class size by 10%

2. reducing the average teacher salary by 10%

3. reducing janitorial and maintenance services by 10%.

COST-ED analysis shows that these changes would decrease the cost of educating the average American secondary student from $912.59 to $832.55, a reduction of $80.04 per pupil or 8.8% of total costs.

Using the typical elementary school, the following equal costs "trade-offs" indicate the cost relationships and sensitivities:

— To save an equal amount of money by increasing student-administrator ratio, as opposed to increasing student-teacher ratio, one would have to increase the former from 406:1 to 564:1 while the latter from 29:1 to only 29:7.1.

— That the savings incurred through renting books rather than providing them free of charge could be surpassed by increasing class size by less than one student or by reducing the average annual pay of teachers (by hiring paraprofessionals or younger teachers, for example) by an amount less than 1% of the total budget.

— That a decrease in annual pay of teachers by 5% will free enough resources to increase audio-visual materials and books by 170% or that a 30% decrease in janitorial and maintenance costs could pay for a 100% increase in books-audio-visual.

One of the suggestions which the public favored was the twelve-month school year, with staggered three-month vacations for students and one-month vacations for teachers. Even if all staff members (teachers, principals, etc.) were given salary increases proportional to the increase in work requirements, the total cost per typical eighth grade student would be reduced by 7.2%.

COST-ED analyses of these and many other equal-cost trade-offs in performance contractors and control school programs indicate the cost saving potential of performance contracting. In the same survey, 49% of the public favored performance contracting; however, the public's attitude towards the cost saving implications could constrain the effective adoption of performance contract learning systems during the turnkey phase. If the achievement results are significant, then perhaps public perceptions will change as educational myths and concepts are displaced.

## LOW RISK — LOW COSTS MEANS FOR EXPERIMENTATION

A second major index for including performance contracting is whether it did provide a low risk, low cost way for administrators to experiment. Because many of the firms were overly ambitious or optimistic in terms of grade-level guarantees, the actual fee paid by the school system in many cases was small relative to the increases in student perform-

ance. One district, for example, paid a fee less than existing school costs for a doubling of the rate of learning. Schools also avoided risk: in most instances, the political "heat" resulting from the experimentation was not directed toward the school but to federal sponsoring agents or to the performance contracting firms, (the BRL Project in Gary, Indiana for example). Similarly, in those instances where the contractors' results were not significant, the contractor again, rather than the school, "failed."

The Virginia Department of Education in its report to the State Board on its performance contract project in seven districts expressed dismay at the gains made as measured by standardized tests but noted: "The use of performance contracting as a method for delivery of an instructional program cannot be deemed a failure on the basis of results in Virginia . . . As experienced here performance contracting, as a means for low risk, low cost experimentation in education innovation can be considered successful."

## INCREASED INNOVATION?

Performance contracting was also designed to encourage responsible innovation by prescribing levels of performance and costs constraints, but not the methodology or materials to be used by the contractor. During the first year, the most significant innovation was the design and actual application of "total learning systems." In this respect, performance contracting did allow the flexibility for firms to "systems engineer" a variety of methodologies and curriculums into learning systems which were tailored for the target populations.

With the exception of the first Texarkana project, the new EMR project in Grand Rapids, and a limited number of others few radically, innovative learning systems, hardware or software developments, or pedological approaches have surfaced. Perhaps the lack of developmental funds and the relatively short life of performance contracting has been a significant factor. Or perhaps, there is dawning a realization that classroom instructional management rather than "gagetry" might be more significant in producing results.

## A CATALYST FOR REFORM

A primary criteria must be the impact of performance contracting on school system renewal. Even though achievement scores are not yet available, about a third of the schools involved in performance contracting in 1970-71 plan to continue the projects next year; another third plan to adopt on a turnkey basis the contractors' program in part or totally; and the rest are undecided. One Virginia site will expand the turnkey phase from two schools last year to ten this year; all three projects in Grand Rapids are being turnkeyed and an additional project in special education will be initiated. A turnkey operation at the elementary level is planned in Taft, Texas. In seventy to eighty per cent of the turnkey projects, local rather than "non-formula" federal funds are being used. That turnkey projects will be operated as effectively or efficiently as last year's performance contract projects is uncertain. Only the results a year from now will tell — if school administrators are will to initiate management changes and independent evaluations are performed.

## PROBLEMS FOR CONSIDERATION

### *Was Performance Contracting De-Humanizing?*

One of the serendipities observed over the last two years has been a unique psychological reversal in the classroom — namely, the firm, the teachers, and others are dependent, monetarily or otherwise, upon the success of the individual students. In several projects teachers began to perceive themselves as "learning and resource partners." Instruction in this sense was not only "learner-centered," but also "learner-controlled." The impact of the latter in teacher and student attitudes might have been significant.

Although the teachers' attitudes toward the projects ranged from extremely negative to extremely positive, the majority of the teachers felt that performance contracting did allow them (within certain limits) a degree of flexibility to do what they had always wanted to do. In certain sites, participating teachers had become "salesmen" for performance contracting within the school and the immediate area. Early involvement of teachers during planning was critical to positive teacher attitudes and cooperation.

Student reaction to the project has been observed in several areas. A "smile factor" was noticeably prevalent in many projects; attendance was generally significantly higher than in control sites (through the availability of make-up classes, actual attendance in one performance contracting site was greater than the number of regularly scheduled hours available); and droupout rates were significantly reduced in the vast majority of sites analyzed thus far. In one Virginia project involving 500 students, the dropout rate of the target group fell to zero.

*Did Community Involvement Increase?*

The New York City District mentioned earlier viewed the experiment as a leverage not only to countervail union pressures but also to involve community residents as paraprofessionals and teacher aides. In Taft, minority parents threatened to withdraw their children from the project, arguing that inferior paraprofessionals were teaching their children and that segregated classes were being perpetuated. Overtime, as communications between the school and the community increased parents' resistance subsided.

At Dallas, where disciplinary problems were about to force discontinuance of contractor's program, parents who had been members of the planning advisory group formed voluntary parent committees which patrolled the school hallways to ensure that the project could be continued.

In the majority of the projects, principals reported that a high level of parental support prevailed during the entire year, even though a few parents withdrew their children from the program during initial stages.

*Did It Rationalize the Collective Bargaining Program?*

Without doubt, performance contracting has provided a leverage for school administrators trying to initiate incentive or merit pay and differentiated staffing. In one performance contract site, the school board plans to initiate incentive programs for all students and teachers during the turnkey phase. In other sites, school principals have attempted to initiate incentive contracts with their teachers in a manner similar to that in the performance contract school. In at least one of the two projects requests were filed by the

teachers' groups resulting in the discontinuance of incentive pay during the last semester.

*Was it an Aid to Desegregation?*

While it is too early to judge, performance contracting does seem to be considered an aid to desegregation. For example, the NAACP recently passed a resolution favoring performance contracting. One performance contract in a Southern state last year was funded under the Emergency School Fund Act. And the presence of performance contracting in Texarkana over the last two years has not only soundly defeated freedom-of-choice advocates at school board election time (Texarkana is the hometown of Freedom, Inc., the national advocate of "freedom-of-choice"), but also has enabled integration to occur relatively smoothly in Texarkana, Ark., while race riots occurred in the non-participating district across the street in Texas.

In several sites where administrators looked upon performance contracting as a means to assist desegregation, recent court orders and decisions required the closing of schools or transferring of students which affected the validity of any evaluation.

## SHORT AND LONG TERM FUTURE OF PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

In the immediate future performance contracting will maintain its position as one of the most controversial innovations in public education, becoming deeply immersed in political, social, and economic issues. In the long run, it might have put itself out of business not because of its failure but because of its success.

*Politics of Performance Contracting*

If successful, performance contracting will probably become a "whippingboy" during the ensuing election year. The Government Accounting Office, reflective of the democratic party sentiments, will undoubtedly be releasing reports throughout the year as it continues to probe into performance contract projects, particularly the OEO experiment. As hearings continue on the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) performance contracting will become an issue,

since several schools have proposed to utilize it to assist in desegregation. The NAACP recently passed a resolution supporting the concept. Senate democrats have already made known their feelings toward this "administration program." The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers will continue to oppose performance contracting with private corporations. And already taut relationships between national administrators' groups and teacher groups will be even further strained.

*Performance Contracting Enters the Courts*

During the next school year it is highly probable that a large number of lawsuits will be filed against performance contracts, especially those with private corporations. Questions of delegation of authority, conflict with existing collective bargaining agreements and state statutes, violation of state and local certification and adoption procedures, and "conflicts of interests" will be the topics of such claims. On the other hand, certain teacher groups will be pressuring administrators for performance contracts in order to not only allow for professional self governance, but also to establish precedents for collective bargaining in states where such is presently illegal or against state regulations.

*Number of Performance Contract Projects Will Increase In 71-72*

Performance contract/turnkey projects will expand during the present school year over the number conducted last year. The achievement results in the OEO experiment will undoubtedly have an impact on the rate of expansion. Contracts with private corporations will be more costly than they were last year, since many firms were overly optimistic charging fees which did not cover their costs in many instances upon final determination of results. In order to justify "costs per grade level increase" fees, firms will supplement basic mathematics and reading services with additional ones such as work study skills, etc., justifying the increase in this manner. Many of the firms which manufacture and market materials utilized in performance contract projects will press administrators hard to adopt their programs on a turnkey basis without going through the performance contract phase. While most projects will be funded under federal programs, such as Titles I, III and VIII, other funds will be available through

local and state channels. For example, the State of Michigan is funding in essence $23 million of performance "contracts" with school districts and a lesser amount with private corporations during the present school year under the recently passed compensatory education legislation.

A *major trend* becoming readily apparent is *incentive contracting* between local boards of education and teachers' associations or individual teachers and faculties. Teachers will demand the same degree of freedom which the performance contractors have had in similar projects within the state or within the local school district. Incentive contracts with teachers already exist in eight school districts and more can be anticipated during the next few months. In many instances it is politically feasible for administrators to negotiate working conditions rather than salary increases with teacher groups. Such working conditions would like in the area of greater self governance, flexibility, and decision-making authority regarding program areas.

In the long run, to the extent that performance contracting results are favorable it should put itself out of business for the most part, as school districts internalize contractor's programs through the turnkey operations. However, to the extent that private and public groups continue to develop new learning systems which offer promise, performance contracting will be utilized as a low cost, low risk vehicle for experimenting with limited demonstration programs to determine the effectiveness of such learning systems. At the same time, as new firms enter the field or personnel from existing performance contracting firms form new corporations, schools will demand the utilization of performance contracting in new endeavors associated with the groups. Similarly, to the extent that performance or incentive contracts are negotiated between school boards and teachers' groups, risk capital allocations will be increasingly provided to school teachers who are willing to risk investing in themselves or the classroom to insure the greatest educational return for the dollar expended.

## CLOSING COMMENT

Performance contracting and turnkey operations, as conceived by the author in 1965, has been applied and is now a reality in public education. However like other educational

innovations, as an idea moves from the conceptual stage through application and then to expansion, bastardization occurs if not in the conjugal bed, at least during the toddler's stage, resulting in application which sometimes are not only unrecognizable but also seemingly contradictory. While such is the case in any field, the barriers to innovation in public education are significant.

The first two years in performance contracting have been both heartening and disheartening as well as encouraging and discouraging for those involved. Moving from promise to performance has not been an easy task. While performance contracting has encountred many of the same difficulties confronting any educational innovation, "never in the course of public education has so few with so little done so much to threaten, unjustifiably I feel, so many."

# 11

# Control of Accountability Through Planning, Programming, Budgeting, Evaluation Systems

W. R. DUKE

## INTRODUCTION

It is somewhat trite to say that we are in the midst of an institutional crisis. All institutions in the private and public sectors — from General Motors to federal penitentiaries — are experiencing either recurring manifestation of dissent or outright confrontations. Public schools have not been spared in this regard; in fact, internal and external pressures continue to grow. These pressures are often the result of social problems which society has dumped on the school's doorstep, too often warmly welcomed by our zealous educators seeking to gain greater public endorsement and recognition. Successes have been many and are all around us, but the failures of the educational system are also more evident to an increasingly critical public that is hungry for a scapegoat. The "everything for everybody" concept of a school, often promulgated by well-meaning educators, sets the context for disillusionment. Parents, business in general, community influentials, and students are pointing accusing-fingers at the schools for their failure to deliver the expected outcomes, some of which are equivalent to walking on water. How much longer can our schools serve as receivers in bankruptcy for all of society's failings?

Gunderson may be overstating his case when he says:[1]

> There is an attitude of negativity that stalks society today. It is self-destroying in concept and faces us at every turn of the road. In the name of progress it holds respected institutions and values up to ridicule and unless we find a remedy it will lead to chaos, confusion and eventual destruction of the free enterprise system.
>
> There was a time when school administrators, school boards and teachers enjoyed the complete confidence of the public. We enjoy that position no longer.
>
> Today the school administrator is made to look like a Jekyll and Hyde who places his own bureaucratic interests before those of the public, his employers or employees. At budget time, the board sees him as Santa Claus in the school house while teachers regard him as an unfeeling Scrooge.
>
> The trustee is regarded as the village idiot by taxpayers who can't or won't take the time to get information on the schools. He is looked on as a country cousin — and a poor one at that — by municipal and provincial politicians. The teaching force, rightly or wrongly, accurses all trustees of a lack of empathy, of unfeelingness and, in a somewhat softer vein, of a lack of gray matter.

It is becoming increasingly clear that wherever the fault lies, educators and those responsible for the educational system must take a stand — one that will enable them to be answerable with the kind of credibility that will reaffirm the public's commitment to education. It is not so much the value of education that is being questioned by the not-so-silent majority, but instead, the capability of schools, as we know them, to deliver the sought results. Hence, there exists a pervasive disenchantment or disaffection which has distilled itself under the rubric of "accountability."

## WHAT IS ACCOUNTABILITY?

*Webster's New World Dictionary* defines accountability as "the condition of being accountable, liable or responsible." It is the "now" word and clearly the byword of all our constituents.

Accountability is not just an economically based notion; it is also humanistically oriented. That is, although the con-

servative element wants to know what it's getting in return for rising costs (often exponential) there is also a growing minority either belonging to the disadvantaged group, or supportive of it, expressing disillusionment with the "system." There are some who argue that these are but symptoms of the more basic problem of adjusting to the impact that a rapidly changing technological society is making on the educational system both in terms of what we teach and how we teach it.

The former Associate Commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, Grant Venn, says that where schools were once "accountable" for "selecting out" students for the unskilled labour force, there is now little need for unskilled labour. "Suddenly," he says, "the situation is such that schools are expected to educate everyone to the point that he can be successful in a new kind of technological society."[2]

Anna Hyer, Director of NEA's technology division, defines accountability as a concept that involves "agreeing upon objectives, deciding upon the input to achieve the objectives, and measuring the output to see the degree to which the objectives have been met."[3] Governor Russell Peterson of Delaware, Chairman of the Education Commission of the States, says accountability involves making "what the student learns," rather than "what the teacher teaches," the educational objective and thus the basis for measurement. Briner provides a perspective for grappling with the concept in the following:[4]

> Accountability in education must be the result of rational understanding and communication between the public and educators about the discharge of responsibility for determining educational purpose, defining function, judging results, and taking corrective actions to improve learning.

So, the "name of the game" is accountability: evaluation of education and the educator, not on the basis of what is poured into the educational process but on what comes out at the other end.

For the most part, accountability is a consumer-based notion which pervades North American society. It must be recognized, however, that fiscal accountability is but a part, perhaps the smallest part, of the accountability movement

in education.[5] The broader concept strikes at the efficacy of the school, its perfrmance in relation to expectations held for it.

The accountability concept even has its heroes. Witness the awe in which Ralph Nader, the consumer's watchdog, is held. Nader has become the champion of the "little guy" by his successful David and Goliath confrontations with big business, government and organizations characterizing the modern-age bureaucracy. His effectiveness in making monolithic technocracies responsive and accountable has made him one of the most admired individuals in North America.

## RESPONSE TO ACCOUNTABILITY

What forms of response to accountability have occurred? Basically there are two broad categories of responses which are aimed at coping with the demands of the public. In the first category can be classified those forms of response which are external to the school system. Here, control of accountability is handed over to an outside agency. The second category includes those approaches which are internal to the school system. Here, the control of accountability is retained.

Performance contracting in its various forms constitutes the major external mechanism for responding to accountability demands.[6, 7] There are several types of performance contracts, ranging from a total price contract extending over the entire school system to a limited subcontract concentrating on some portion of the school program. The "voucher plan" is really a form of individual contracting based on the market mechanism of free choice by the individual consumer.[8] The point to be made is that control of accountability mechanisms in this external response does not rest with the educational administrator.

Turning to internal approaches, or those within the existing educational organizations, there can be identified several patterns of response to the accountability question. In general, these orientations provide for retention of control of accoun tability mechanisms by school administrators. A number of focuses or perspectives may be identified: the humanistic, the economic, the managerial, andthe systems oriented.

Very briefly, the humanistic approach is based on the premise that humanizing the learning process will in effect

remove the inequities in learning outcomes which underlie the cries for accountaebility. It is clearly process oriented, and one of the accountability mechanisms is presumably the positive orientation the students carry home.

The economic or cost-benefit approach focuses on the input-output equation and attempts to do one of two things:

1. to obtain maximum benefit at an acceptable level of cost (cost is fixed); and

2. to obtain a set level of benefit (performance) at a minimum level of cost (performance is fixed).

The concept of cost-benefit analysis evolves from welfare economics: its application to education in a purely quantitative sense, that is, dollars of input equals dollars of educational benefit is virtually impossible to demonstrate. This approach is resource requirement — outcome oriented: it derives from the industrial PPBS model.

The managerial approach is best typified by the "management by objectives" movement. This approach has been particularly effective in the industrial world where a standard product exists. However, the applicability of this mode of thought is demonstrable in education only to the degree that specific objectives and evaluative criteria are universal.

The systems approach to making an organization more effective attempts to encompass the humanistic, economic and management approaches by integrating in a decision system such interacting variables as context (the situation), input (what goes in), process (what goes on), and output (what is achieved).[9]

One such system is known as PPBES (Planning, Programming, Budgeting, Evaluation System). A number of these systems are in circulation and although the emphasis differs, the essential components are the same.[10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15]

*A PPBE System involves:*

Planning — needs assessment, identification of educational goals, and specification of performance-based objectives.

Programming — design of corresponding activities or programs and alternative methods for achieving objectives.

Budgeting — allocating funds on the basis of programs facilitating cost determination and analysis.

Evaluation — determining the effectiveness of programs in terms of achieving specified objectives.

A school system implementing a PPBE System reports that PPBES is concerned with integrating:[16]

> . . . the reviewing and stating of goals and objectives, examining alternatives in terms of facilities, program, personnel, materials, and supplies, providing for communication, establishing priorities involving as many power groups as possible, utilizing limited fiscal resources, developing support for change, organizing for accountability, and providing for evaluation.

Fundamentally, there are three major processes in a PPBE System which focus on educational accountability. They are: planning, evaluation and communication.

*Planning*

The process of planning stripped of its supporting activities is essentially goal or objective setting. Objectives, in the broad sense, are statements of values; in the narrow sense, they are benchmarks of performance or learning behavior.[17] It becomes obvious that there are several levels of objectives, namely, societal, school system, school, and classroom levels. The level of specificity of these objectives is directly proportional to the proximity of the activity to the classroom; that is, instructional classroom objectives are far more specific than objectives specified by the province. Conversely, the level of specificity is inversely proportional to the difficulty of specification. For example, where the specification of behavioral objectives is extremely difficult and hazardous, e.g., some afective areas, Lessinger advocates going to a higher level of generality.[18] One can appreciate, however, that objectives become less meaningful as the level of generality is raised. Hence, board general objectives are useful only in providing directional thrusts in education and not for specifying learning behaviors for students. For example, a provincial course of studies may emphasize "valuing" as a major objective without specifying the learning behaviors which would indicate the achievement of this objective. Ultimately the classroom teacher must develop both the learning activi-

ties and the evaluative criteria by which this judgment can be made.

*Evaluation*

In very simple terms then, the specification of objectives will facilitate answering the question, "What are we trying to do?" This question, if answered, leads to a more difficult question: "How well are we doing?" An acceptable answer to this question requires the existence of evaluative criteria. The evaluative procedures characteristic of the past are no longer adequate.[19] The number of tenth graders with so many hours of instruction in mathematics, using a certain approach to the subject and corresponding materials, taught by a certified teacher with a specified number of credits, in a class of so many students, meeting in a room that meets minimum standards of size, lighting, heat, and so forth, *tells us nothing about how well students have learned mathematics.* The point to be stressed here is that the evaluation function in education has been primarily focussed on the input factors, to a lesser degree on the process factors, and to a very minimal degree, on the outcome factors.

It is submitted that the cry for accountability derives from dissatisfaction with the outcomes in relation to the fiscal resources (inputs) demanded. Is it not reasonable to assume that a dissatisfied public will react by withholding its support, both moral and financial?

*Communication*

The third major process of PPBES is communication. Cunningham states that "citizens must have an information base upon which to make accountability judgments about their institutions."[20] He further claims that the principal response of school officials when accountability issues arise is either to become defensive or to begin an immediate search for information, usually restricted to input factors such as pupil-teacher ratios, etc. However, the accountability issue generally has two dimensions. The first is access to information about performance or output; the second is identification of those factors thought to be responsible for unsatisfactory performance.

At this point, it should be quite clear that the three major processes of PPBES, namely, planning, evaluation, and com-

munication, have a significant common denominator in the form of a data base. It is impossible to plan, evaluate or communicate effectively without readily available data. Furthermore, without an on-going information system there is little likelihood that any significant improvement will take place in the planning, evaluation, and communication functions on a long-range basis.

## CONTROL OF ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH PPBES

Demands for accountability by the various publics of education can be controlled to the degree that the need for accountability is reduced by educators able to do three things:

1. to specify educational objectives, cooperatively or otherwise;

2. to evaluate these objectives in performance terms; and

3. to communicate effectively to the public answers to the questions "What are we doing?" and "How well are we doing it?" This latter is obviously based on the success of the first two.

Whether or not one subscribes to the Roman imperative of *Vox populi, vox Dei* (the voice of the people is the voice of God), it is safe to assume that no great steps forward in education can be made without the endorsement and support of the general public.

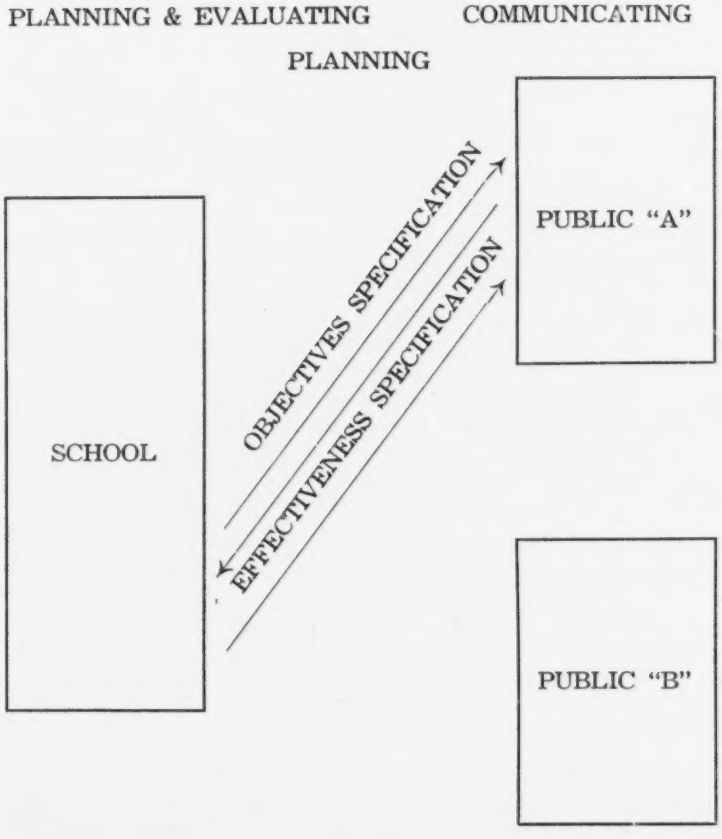
Figure 1 proposes an accountability model which attempts to illustrate the two-way communication that will yield such public support and at the same time leave control of that two-way communication in the hands of the educator. Lest it be misunderstood, let it be clear that control of accountability mechanisms does not imply control of information content in a distortive sense. The intent and application of such control is quite the opposite. The need is for accurate transmission of accurate data to whatever publics require information.

To illustrate: if the intent of PPBES were to provide paint for a badly-built fence, it would neither hold the promise held out for it, nor would we be advocating it. For even though (as any carpenter will tell you) paint can cover "a multitude of sins," the well-painted, poorly constructed fence

will still fall down. What we need to do, then, is build not only a well-constructed fence, but the kinds of fences that are wanted by the "owners."

FIGURE 1

AN ACCOUNTABILITY MODEL
(FACILITATING VEHICLE: PPBES)




So we want not to cover school programs with paint, but rather, in consultation with our publics we want to build better programs by specifying objectives and effectively communicating the results of attempting to meet the objectives.

## SOME IMPLICATIONS OF PPBES FOR DECISION-MAKING

A fully operating PPBE System in education requires significant changes in the decision-making system now in use. First of all, it must be recognized that they are types and levels of decisions which require different decision-makers.[21] There are certain types of decisions that are clearly the prerogative of the school board, just as there are those decisions which derive from the pedagogical license of the classroom teacher. There are also those decisions which overlap jurisdictions and hence must be negotiated. To sort out these decisions by "type" is one of the "hoary" problems facing education today.

Turning to the levels of decision-making, too often a "totem-pole" approach is taken whereby the province, the school system, the school and the classrom are identified as the decision levels, with the number and importance of decisions decreasing as one approaches the bottom of the totem-pole. In actual practice the converse is true. The typical organizational pyramid must no longer be viewed as symbolic of decision-making flowing from the apex but rather as a configuration representing the greater number of decisions to be made as one nears the base of it.[22] An educational organization requires fewer policy decisions than it does operational decisions — the largest percentage of the latter are made in the schools.

Since identification and specification of objectives constitute the heart of the PPBES decision system there are limitations which need to be recognized by its advocates and potential users. In this connection a typology of decision issues developed by Thompson serves as a useful framework for classifying decisions and suggesting strategies and structures for organizational decision-making.[23] The applicability of PPBES can be abstracted accordingly. (See Figure 2)

When there is agreement regarding both causation and preference, decision-making is a technical or mechanical matter. For instance, a decision to provide gate service to school children with the present transportation system is a simple matter of scheduling.

When there is agreement on the goal, e.g., reducing the drop-out rate, but no evidence as to the best way of accomp-

lishing this goal, decision by majority judgment is a workable approach. In this instance, "professional" opinion emerging from a collegial structure fits education best.

When there is no agreement on the goal (purpose of technical education), but there exists agreement on the availability of suitable programs, compromise becomes the usual strategy for decision-making. For example, technical education may be defined as preparation for a trade and life-long education on a fifty-fifty basis. Most often this type of decision is reached by means of the bargaining process by representatives of different points of view.

Lastly, when no agreement exists on either the goal or the means to attain the goal, e.g., religious instruction in public schools, decision-making must be inspirational in nature characterized by charisma, divine guidance and/or unassailable expertise. It can be argued that too many decisions in education have been placed in this category by default. That is, there has not been a serious effort to specify meaningful goals with adequate evaluative criteria in relation to either new or existing educational programs.

FIGURE 2
A TYPOLOGY OF DECISION ISSUES

| Is There Agreement (Evidence) On Possible Cause — Effect Relationships (Causation) | Is There Agreement on Goals? (Preference) YES | Is There Agreement on Goals? (Preference) NO |
|---|---|---|
| YES | COMPUTATION<br>BUREAUCRATIC | COMPROMISE<br>REPRESENTATIVE (BARGAINING) |
| NO | JUDGMENT<br>COLLEGIAL | INSPIRATION<br>ANOMIC |

With the exception of the "Inspiration" quadrant in this typology of decision-making PPBES has direct application. PPBES is a "cards on the table" approach to attempting to match expectations with performance. Hence, information pertaining to expectations (goals) of educational programs and effectiveness of such programs must be sought.

## SUMMARY

I have attempted to look at the role of the administrator in accountability and how he might respond to the demands upon him. The concept of accountability was examined and general approaches to coping with it outlined. Performance contracting was viewed as an external response to accountability and PPBES as an adaptation within the present educational system.

The major processes of PPBES, namely, planning, evaluation and communication were examined in relation to their impact on the accountability issue. In addition, the implications of PPBES for decision-making were analyzed by means of a typology which served to identify the limitations of PPBES.

The major thesis of this paper is that PPBES assists in controlling accountability by specifying expectations and performance in a manner understandable to the public.

I realize that I have underscored the need for accountability in our schools. My purpose for doing so, however, differs from most of the critics who envision a hopeless situation. Although pessimism is the order of the day, I feel that the great need is for cautious optimism. This is no time for imprecise thinkers to mouth slogans which comfort the uncommitted and pedagogically insecure in the educational force, but rather the time has come for hard-headed capable educators to take positive action. Rationality works in a number of directions: it exposes both strengths and weaknesses; it raises havoc with mythology and time-worn truisms. Rationality can also upset the status quo in addition to lowering the level of dogmatic conviction.

I am confident that school administrators will help the school account effectively to all its publics, but most effectively to its most important client — the student.

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# 12

# Accountability of Teacher Performance Through Merit Salaries and Other Devices

S. McDOWELL

The present attention being given in educational circles to the term "accountability" appears to have led to a renewed examination of the term "merit rating."

Merit rating, though frequently ill-defined or undefined, is used primarily to describe attempts to relate the amount of a teacher's salary to his competence as a teacher. The single salary schedule (or preparation schedule) has been widely adopted in Canada and in the United States of America as the formula for determining teacher's salaries. The single salary schedule bases the teacher's salary upon two variables: his academic and professional training, and his years of teaching experience. Merit rating involves a third variable — a measurement of the teacher's competence — which supplements or replaces the training and experience variables. Narrowly defined, merit rating would mean that a teacher's salary must be based entirely upon a measurement of his teaching competence; broadly defined, it would mean only that his salary is related to some degree, however, minute, to a measurement of his competence. It is evident in the literature that usage inclines toward the broad definition.

Over the years the debate about merit salaries for teachers has ebbed and flowed. At times interest in the concept seems to have disappeared; but before long the idea reap-

pears and the debate is renewed. Despite the avalanche of writing on the topic — there is little that could be called research — the major points in the merit rating controversy can be summarized in the following ten statements:[1]

*Pro's*

1. Teachers differ in their ability and efficiency; their salaries should be related to these differences.

2. Merit increments provide an incentive and a reward for superior service.

3. If we can rate for promotion and tenure we can rate for salaries.

4. Industry uses merit rating; education can do the same.

5. The public is willing to pay high salaries only to those who deserve them.

6. Only through merit rating can teachers attain professional status.

7. Merit rating will improve instruction.

8. Merit rating will reward those who deserve recognition.

9. Merit rating will stimulate administrators to be more concerned with the efficiency of their teachers.

10. Merit rating will be well worth the additional cost, for it will ensure that money is being wisely spent.

*Con's*

1. Differences in teaching efficiency cannot at present be measured with sufficient accuracy for determining salaries.

2. Merit rating destroys cooperative staff teamwork.

3. Our rating methods are too crude to distinguish among fine gradations of teaching efficiency.

4. Industry and education are not analogous; teaching is an art.

5. The public will reject a plan in which only a fraction of its children are taught by superior teachers.

6. We should seek to improve all teachers, not merely to reward those who appear to excel.

7. Merit rating may improve the efficiency of some teachers, but will have an adverse effect on many others.

8. Merit rating will cause bitterness and disillusionment.

9. Merit rating will hinder effective supervision.

10. The additional cost of merit rating can be more profitably used in improving the efficiency of the entire staff.

Of all these points, the one that still seems to cause the greatest apprehension on the part of teachers is the question of the validity and reliability of the rating procedures that might be used. The experiment reported by Worth ten years ago is still frequently used as an illustration of the problem that teachers perceive to exist:[2]

> . . . sixty-five principals, participants in Alberta's 1961 Short Course for Principals, were placed in a test situation in which they were required to rate one specific teacher's performance. The subjects "visited," via kinescope, the classroom of Miss Eugenia Walenski, a grade one teacher. The visit lasted about fifteen minutes, just long enough for the observation of one complete lesson. Following the visit, each administrator made an independent appraisal of the teacher.
>
> ---
>
> . . . the spread of opinion (on a seven-point rating scale) with respect to Miss Walenski's performance was considerable, ranging from "EXCEPTIONAL: demonstrates a high level of professional skill" to "DOUBTFUL: has not demonstrated suitability for teaching." Interestingly, sixty-nine percent of the principals evaluated her as generally satisfactory or better while twenty-six percent appraised her as doubtful, weak or barely satisfactory.
>
> It was anticipated that the amount of administrative experience of the individual rater would likely influence his judgment, and hence that there would be differences in ratings according to experience. But such was not the case. Greater administrative experience did not decrease the variation; experienced principals tended to

differ in their ratings as widely as their inexperienced colleagues.

In the face of this kind of report, it is little wonder that teachers greet merit rating proposals with considerable skepticism.

## REQUIREMENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL MERIT RATING PLAN

There is certainly no shortage of advice on how to establish a merit rating plan. Surprisingly enough, in view of the general controversy about merit rating, there appears to be considerable agreement about the basic steps a district should follow if it decides to adopt a merit salary plan. A review of the literature shows that the following seventeen guidelines are most often suggested. They may be listed under three headings: prerequisite conditions, the evaluation of teachers, and financing the plan.[3]

### *Prerequisite Conditions*

1. The primary purpose of the plan must be to improve instruction, not merely to penalize unsatisfactory teaching or to require uniformity in teaching methods. The philosophy of the plan must be clearly articulated, and understood by everyone involved.

2. There must be acceptance of the plan by the teachers, the administrators and the school board members. Imposing a merit rating plan will detract from the improvement of instruction. Teachers must recognize a need for the plan and be convinced of its possible benefits.

3. All policy-making and administrative actions must be in harmony with the "merit principle" ((specifically, a conscious effort to attract and retain the best teachers available, to provide good conditions of employment, to discover and correct the causes of unsatisfactory teaching, and to provide the supervisory and in-service programmes necessary for continuous improvement in the calibre of teaching service). A merit plan is not a panacea for a district with problems resulting from bad personnel policies.

4. There must be mutual confidence and respect between the teachers and the administrators of the plan. The administrators must have the integrity and courage necessary to

make decisions. Obviously, decisions must be made for educational rather than for political reasons; teachers will reject the plan if they think the administrators are being told how the merit increments are to be awarded.

5. Teachers should participate in developing the plan, and there should be almost universal agreement on the criteria for measuring teacher performance.

6. Ample research and planning must precede the implementation of the plan. A merit plan cannot be transplanted from one district to another, but must be adapted to suit local conditions and decisions. There is no one merit rating plan which has been shown to be superior to all others. A very careful preparatory and training period is necessary before a district can handle the technical and human relationship problems inherent in any comprehensive merit programme.

7. The district should plan to make merit increments available to all teachers who meet the prescribed standards. There should be no quotas, and no requirement for lengthy service before being eligible.

8. The plan should be evaluated periodically; it must be dynamic and experimental, never inflexible or static.

*The Evaluation of Teachers*

9. There must be developed and validated a set of evaluative standards that can be applied with objectivity and reliability to individual teaching situations. Probably some form of rating sheet should be used. However, appraisal systems that have the appearance of objectivity through the superficial use of numerical scales, or whose reliability has not been demonstrated, are misleading as to their value and will ultimately do irreparable harm to the merit rating plan.

10. Continuous evaluation by teams of evaluators appears to be more useful than irregular evaluations by an individual rater.

11. There must be ample time for the appraisal of teacher performance, an adequate number of properly trained supervisory and administrative personnel to carry out the evaluation, and sufficient assurance that the evaluation results will be thoroughly discussed with the teacher.

12. Evaluation for salary determination should be distinctly separate from evaluation for the improvement of instruction. Those who analyze and evaluate teaching to improve the work of teachers at the school level should have no direct connection with the salary administration programme.

13. The administrative staff that evaluates teachers should itself be evaluated on the basis of established criteria and measuring instruments.

14. There should be provision for appeal by the teacher against the evaluation results.

*Financing the Plan*

15. The basic scale of salaries must adequately reflect the importance of teaching.

16. The merit increments must be large enough to provide an incentive, and to justify a careful, systematic evaluative process. The merit increments must not be awarded only sporadically as money is available for them; to do so would seriously undermine any merit rating plan.

17. Sufficient money must be made available to finance the plan adequately. The extensive evaluative programme required and the additional merit increments to be provided will necessarily result in increased expenditures.

There is significance in the fact that during the last twenty years merit rating plans have been established more often in the United States than in Canada. I believe the reason for this difference is that teacher collective bargaining was established in Canada much sooner and much more firmly. When a teacher group has no effective voice in the determination of the salaries its members will receive, it is much more likely to be acquiescent to a proposal that promises to increase the salaries of at least some members of the group.

While merit salary plans have only rarely been established in Canada, the concept has nevertheless been receiving attention and discussion. Last year in Saskatchewan the trustees in one of the ten major bargaining areas requested an arbitration board to include a merit salary clause in its award. A majority of the three arbitration board members agreed to do so, including in the award provision enabling a school board "to withhold an increment payment due a

teacher employed by it if, in its opinion, it had been established by the written reports of the superintendent or director of education or the principal of the school in which the teacher is teaching, that such teacher has unsatisfactorily performed his duties;" and enabling a school board to pay an extra amount of $200.00 to $400.00 to a tenure teacher who "shows outstanding teacher effectiveness in the classroom" and "makes an outstanding contribution to the extra-curricular program in the school."[4] However, the teacher representatives successfully challenged the right of the arbitration board to include these provisions, and the arbitration award was subsequently squashed by the courts.

Because of the interest being shown in merit salary scales, however, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation prepared and published a discussion paper entitled "A Multi-Dimensional Method for Determining Salaries."[5] This paper outlines possible procedures for the introduction of additional dimensions, including a merit assessment, into the traditional two-dimensional salary pattern. Whether the concepts developed in this paper will be adopted by teacher and trustee negotiators remains to be seen.

It is interesting to consider the probable cost of a merit salary program. A 1963 study estimated that the introduction of a successful merit salary plan in a typical Saskatchewan school unit might cost an additional 18 per cent of payroll.[6] At the present time in the province, based on our $100,000,000.00 teacher payroll, this would be some $18,000,000.00. It is ironic that the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association, which officially advocates merit rating of teachers, is presently casting doubt upon the feasibility of introducing a minimum four-year teacher education program because "the initial cost to Saskatchewan taxpayers would be about $10,000.00."[7]

## A PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEM

The merit rating controversy arises from a philosophical difference as to the nature of the teaching function in our society. If one views our school system as a bureaucracy he would expect the hierarchical structure and the division of labour to be such that the teacher, at a low level of the hierarchy, would be responsible for a precisely defined set of tasks and would be fully accountable to his immediate

superior for performing a specific piece of work using methods and procedures that were clearly right or demonstrably wrong. By contrast, if one views teaching as a profession, he will see the teacher's role as being complex and requiring a high degree of creativity, initiative, independent judgment and autonomy.

The bureaucratic notion would be at one end of a continuum, the professional at the other. Where does teaching fit in? Where should it fit in?

Lieberman makes the following observation:[8]

> A worker on an assembly line may have an extremely important task in the sense that the entire assembly line may break down if he does not perform his duties efficiently, but his duties may require him to make only a few simple decisions over and over again in the entire course of his work . . .
>
> Professional work presents a radically different picture. The professional worker is confronted by a wide variety of problems which require the application of a high degree of intelligence and specialized training. Lack of autonomy . . . usually does great harm and is strongly resented. Professional work is not amendable to the kind of close supervision often present in factories and offices. Professions necessarily require a broad range of autonomy, that is, freedom to exercise independent skill and judgment.

On this basis professional autonomy and merit rating may be incompatible. In the concept of teaching as a profession, it is essential that the teacher be autonomous, that he be free to apply his specialized training and to exercise his independent skill and judgment. If the teacher is to be rated by someone else, he cannot retain this autonomy. He must, in order to be judged successful, become subservient to the authority and autonomy of the rater.

## TEACHER ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH OTHER DEVICES

No one would argue that teachers (or any other professionals) should have such unfettered autonomy that they should never have to be accountable to anyone for anything

they do. Indeed, professional autonomy must always be tied to professional responsibility (or, if you prefer, professional accountability).

But if the professional teacher is to be accountable, to whom is he to be accountable? and for what? Most would agree that the teacher must be accountable to the society he serves. Let us first of all realize and admit, however, that society is not a single, monolithic entity that displays an easy consensus on every — or any — issue.

In an effort to rationalize the roles and relationships that should exist in the institution of education, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation recently developed a policy on educational program.[9] Inherent in that policy is the stated belief that the basic responsibility for establishing the broad aims of education resides with society, and that society through its various agencies has the responsibility to articulate these aims. The two major agencies responsible for articulating these broad goals are the provincial government and elected school boards. Various professionals at the provincial level are responsible for translating these broad, guiding aims into statements of curriculum, which are intended learnings or objectives. And finally, the responsibility for the nature and details of the instructional processes used to attain these intended learnings resides fundamentally with the teacher.

In line with this philosophy, we have developed and implemented during the last six years a program of teacher accreditation. Described as accreditation by teacher by subject, the program is based on the belief that student evaluation must be continuous, and that it can therefore be most effectively carried out by the teacher. The program also assumes, however, that a teacher should have the option of seeking accredited status, that in accepting the authority for program modification and student evaluation, he is also undertaking the responsibility to defend what he is doing and why he is doing it.

Teachers as a group, through their professional organizations, should be responsible for assuring society that each teacher is providing an acceptable level of service. Recent legislation in Saskatchewan extends the responsibility of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in this regard, making it now responsible for the maintenance of a professional

competency committee, in addition to its traditional discipline committee.

There are three agencies that should be involved in ensuring teacher competence. The Minister of Education issues a teacher's certificate. A school board provides a contract of employment. The teachers' professional organization determines eligibility for membership. If any one of the three is terminated — his certificate, his contract, or his membership — the teacher ought to be unable to practice his profession. The Saskatchewan legislation has gone a long way toward this ideal.

## SUMMARY

Merit salary plans for teachers have been advocated as one means of ensuing that teachers are accountable to society. Most merit salary proposals, however, are mechanistic and minute rather than global and pervasive. As a result, they tend to imply finely graded accuracy where no such accuracy exists.

Of far greater importance than fatuous and misleading attempts to formulate precise descriptions of a specific teacher's effectiveness on a scale with minute gradations is the building of a sense of professional dedication and responsibility within those who are charged with providing the instructional services in our schools.

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[6]McDowell, op. cit.

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# 13

# Increasing Accountability Through Involvement of Professional and Lay Groups

O. P. LARSON

Much has been said about accountability in education during the past year or two. Considerable thought has also been given to ways and means of promoting increased accountability on the part of all personnel concerned.

Some of the reasons which seem to account for the increased concern shown for various forms of accountability in Alberta include the following:

— The rapid rate at which educational costs have increased during the past few years.

— The growing tendency on the part of senior governments and the public to look at educational enterprises in terms of cost effectiveness.

— The current financial limitations imposed on school systems by the provincial government.

— The dissatisfaction shown by some parents and members of the public in the results obtained, or coming from, certain educational programs.

— The trend to make school systems more responsive to the increasing demands for a voice in school system decision-making on the part of both professional and lay groups.

Although the term "accountability" is too new in educational circles to have acquired a specific and definite meaning, there is little doubt about its general meaning and import for the schools. Stephen M. Barro summarizes this very well in the following statement:[1]

> The basic idea it conveys is that school systems and schools, or more precisely, the professional educators who operate them, should be held responsible for educational outcomes — for what children learn. If this can be done, it is maintained, favorable changes in professional performance will occur, and these will be reflected in higher academic achievement, improvement in pupil attitudes, and generally better educational results. This proposition — that higher quality education can be obtained by making the professionals responsible for their product — is what makes accountability an attractive idea and provides the starting point for all discussion of specific accountability systems and their uses in the schools.

School personnel, however, tend to fear, and perhaps rightly so, that accountability will become unduly concerned with a limited notion of responsibility, namely, holding the teacher responsible for improving the reading and mathematics scores of the pupils in his class. While this is a matter for which the teacher should be held at least partially responsible, matters related to the personal and humane outcomes of education are also important. Such outcomes are not quantifiable and, as a result, there is a danger that accountability approaches will give undue emphasis to the objective, quantitative, measurable side of learning, and that the humane and personal aspects will not receive the attention they should. Nevertheless, Myron Lieberman contends that:[2]

> . . . if the public schools do not develop acceptable criteria and procedures for accountability, they will stimulate the emergence of accountability through alternative school systems. To put it bluntly, if school systems do not begin to do a better job of relating school costs to educational outcomes, they are likely to be faced with a growing demand for alternatives to public schools.

Stephen Barro sets forth six approaches to higher quality education through accountability:[3]

1. Use of improved, output-oriented management methods.

   The emphasis here is on accountability for effective use of all resources. It entails the determination of goals and objectives, methods of achieving the goals, and suitable evaluation procedures.

2. Decentralization and community control.

   Administrative decentralization, in which much of the decision-making authority is shifted from central administrators to local area administrators or individual school principals, can itself contribute to accountability. This shift of authority tends to make the schools more responsible to local professional views as well as to the views held by local lay personnel. Accountability under such conditions may be defined to include not only responsibility for achieving the objectives but also responsibility for selecting relevant goals and objectives in the first place.

3. Institutionalization of external evaluation or educational audits.

   This includes the use of external teams in evaluating the effectiveness of the educational programs carried forward in a school system. It assumes that public disclosure of the relative effectiveness of school programs will serve to make school personnel more accountable and responsible. It is possible the Department of Education may serve a useful purpose in establishing such teams through the regional offices now going into operation throughout the province.

4. Performance incentives for school personnel.

   Barro states that "perhaps the most direct way to use an accountability system to stimulate improved performance is to relate rewards for educators to measures of effectiveness in advancing learning." Professional organizations have tended to oppose such approaches largely because they fear that performance criteria might be applied subjectively, arbitrarily, or inequitably. Such opposition would probably disappear if a measurement system could be developed which would be widely recognized as objective and fair.

5. Performance incentive contracting.

   Under such an arrangement a school district contracts with an outside agency to carry forward specific instructional activities leading to specified, measurable educational results. A number of projects along this line are now being carried forward on an experimental basis in the United States.

6. Alternative educational systems.

   This proposal would allow competing publicly financed school systems to coexist and would permit parents to choose the schools for their children. This would force educational personnel to show a high degree of accountability to parents. The burden of providing adequate information and evaluating the school would rest not only upon individual parents but also upon school personnel.

For the remaining portion of this paper I should like to concentrate on two approaches to better quality education:

1. Increasing accountability through professional and lay participation in decision-making at the system-wide level.

2. Increasing accountability through professional and lay participation in decision-making at the school level.

It was felt that an elaboration of these two approaches would meet the task suggested to me for this conference. It was also felt that a description of the approaches would, to some extent, provide further comments on the first two approaches noted above by Stephen Barro.

## INCREASING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH PROFESSIONAL AND LAY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE SYSTEM-WIDE LEVEL

Professional and lay personnel who are given an opportunity to play an active part in the decision-making process respecting the total operation of a school system will feel a good measure of accountability to all concerned and will hold a strong commitment to the decisions agreed upon. This has been the experience, particularly of professional personnel, in the Medicine Hat and Lethbridge Public School Systems during the past few years. Other systems that have had workable procedures in this regard have found that

professional personnel in particular tend to show increased commitment and responsibility.

A description of the procedures that might be employed to promote increased commitment and accountability through professional and lay participation in the decision-making process are outlined below under the following headings:

— Purposes to be served.

— Committee structure required.

— Operational considerations.

*Purposes to be Served*

Professional and lay participation in the decision-making process at the school system level will serve at least three valuable purposes:

1. To facilitate the development of sound educational policies for later consideration and appropriate action by the Board of Trustees. Such policies usually relate to issues having application to the school system as a whole including matters concerning working conditions of the staff.

2. To give careful thought to: (a) the selection and articulation of school system goals and objectives, (b) ways and means of attaining the objectives, and (c) continual evaluation of the usefulness of our educational programs and the extent to which our goals and objectives are being achieved.

3. To develop, as a result of participation in the decision-making process, a strong sense of responsibility and commitment of the policies, decisions, goals and objectives agreed upon. In this way, it is hoped that school personnel will feel an increased sense of accountability to one another, to the Board of Trustees, and to the community as a whole.

*Committee Structure Required*

A committee structure designed to facilitate participation in policy development on the part of representatives of all groups concerned will be necessary. Such a structure will normally include such committees as the following:

— A Coordinating or General Policy Committee.

— Principals' and vice-principals' group.

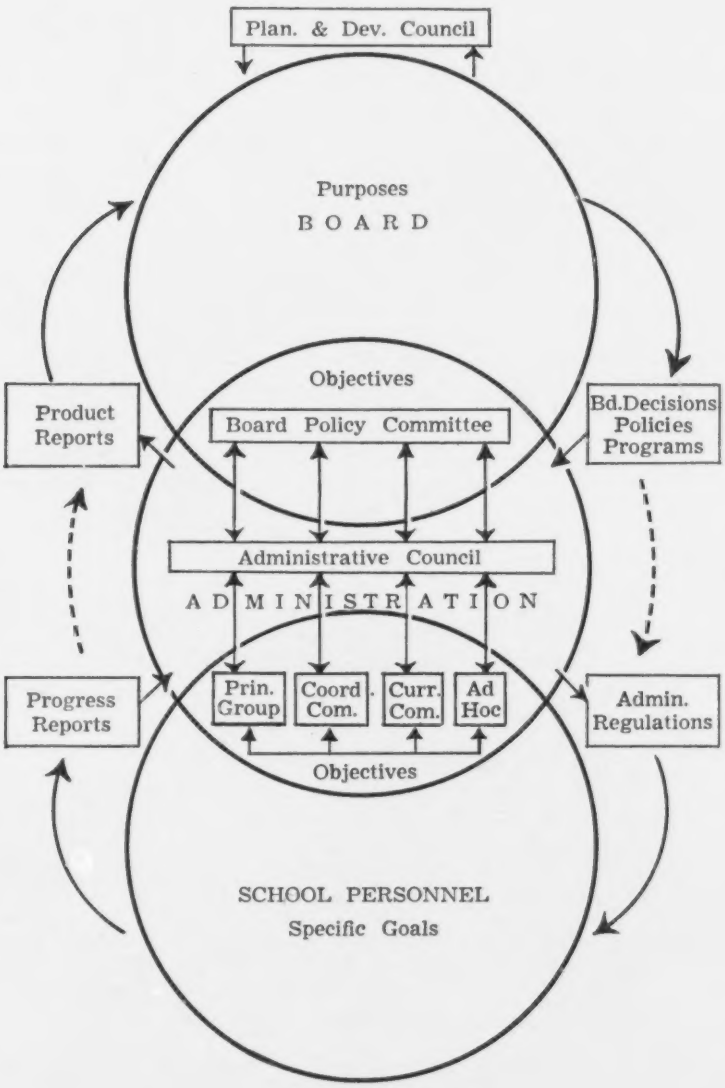


FIGURE 1

LETHBRIDGE SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 51
BOARD—ADMINISTRATOR—TEACHER RELATIONS

— Curriculum Committees.

— Ad Hoc Committees.

— Planning and Development Council.

For some clarification as to how and where these committees will operate in the school system and their responsibilities in relation to the roles of the Board, the administration, and professional personnel generally, reference should be made to Figure 1. This is the type of committee structure established by a board policy statement, currently prevailing in the Lethbridge Public School System. The structure illustrated in this figure is, to a large degree, based upon ideas advanced by T. B. Greenfield et al[4] and by Davies and Brickell.[5] The following comments may serve to clarify the figure to some extent.

— The administration circle overlaps that of the Board, and the professional personnel in the schools. This indicates that the administration is required to work closely with both the Board and school personnel on many matters.

— The Board of Trustees is primarily responsible for establishing the broad purposes of education and adopting appropriate programs and policies to attain them.

— The Superintendent, as part of the administration, is required to act as an advisor to the Board and as the chief executive officer of the school system.

— School personnel, as well as administrators, are primarily responsible for carrying out programs and policies adopted by the Board. They are, however, also expected to play a part in developing suitable programs and policies for Board consideration.

— All personnel affected by a policy, whether board members, administrators, or teachers should play a part in its development. Parents and students where applicable should also play a full part.

— The two main committees responsible for initially developing policies, programs, and courses of action are the Coordinating (General Policy) Committee and the principals' group. Curriculum Committees and Ad Hoc Committees are concerned with special areas only. Their

activities will normally come to the attention of the coordinating committee or the principals' group, particularly if they have application to teachers generally.

— The findings and recommendations of each of the committees are presented to the Board Policy Committee (Board and Superintendent) for action through the administrative council. One of the responsibilities of the administrative council is to make certain that the agenda for regular board meetings is prepared in adequate detail with sufficient data included to enable the board to make sound decisions.

— The Planning and Development Council, consisting mainly of parents and students, operates as a long-range planning committee and reports directly to the Board.

The composition of the Coordinating Committee, the main policy developing committee for the school system, could vary, and probably should vary, from one school system to another. The important point to bear in mind is that all groups concerned should have representation on the committee. The chances of developing sound policies are much better when there is an input by representatives of the groups affected by the proposed policy or course of action.

In the Lethbridge Public School System, members of the committee include the following:

— Five representatives of the A.T.A. including:

  — Four teachers, one representing each division, appointed or elected by the A.T.A.

  — The President of the local A.T.A.

— Three principals (one elementary, one junior high, and one senior high) appointed or elected by the principals' group. They are, of course, also A.T.A. members.

— Four directors (Director of Curriculum, Director of Personnel, Director of Special Services, and the Director of Business Affairs, namely, the Secretary-Treasurer).

— The Superintendent of Schools.

— One or more board members who are free to attend and to participate as they may see fit.

It will be noted from the membership listed above that parents and students are not represented. Up until the present time in Lethbridge, parents and students have a large membership on the Planning and Development Council which reports directly to the Board. More will be said about this later. In the fall of 1971 consideration will be given to the possibility of including representatives of parents and students on the Coordinating Committee.

The Coordinating Committee was formally established in Lethbridge through the adoption by the Board of a special policy setting forth its composition, purposes, and the procedures governing its operation. This was done only after full discussion with, and general approval by, A.T.A. representatives and the principals' group. It should be noted that the committee was established, and continues to remain, outside the provisions of the Collective Agreement. It was felt that by having the committee operate outside the provisions of the Collective Agreement, it would tend to better establish a climate of cooperation and mutual goodwill, so essential to effective operation.

Other committees, such as the principals' group, Curriculum Committees, and special Ad Hoc committees also play a part in initially developing policies for Board consideration. Such policies, if they have application to all teachers in the system will go to the Coordinating Committee for examination and general approval before going to the board for consideration and appropriate action. If, on the other hand, the policies have application to a limited number of teachers, such as those in a specific subject area, the policies may go directly to the Board for action.

The Planning and Development Council is primarily designed to provide lay participation on fundamental issues related to the operation of the school system. Its membership includes ten parents (one representing each of the five secondary schools and one representing each of five elementary schools on a rotational basis), five students (one representing each secondary school), one teacher appointed by the A.T.A., one principal appointed by the principals' group, and the Superintendent of Schools. The Council reports directly to the Board.

*Operational Considerations*

For some further clarification respecting the operation and usefulness of the committees, I should like to make reference to a number of operational procedures relating to them. First some comments concerning the Coordinating Committee.

1. This committee, as pointed out earlier, is the main policy developing committee for the school system. It concerns itself primarily with policies and programs applicable to the school system as a whole. It does not attempt to suggest policies for any one particular school. Policies developed and finally approved by the committee are submitted to the Board, through the superintendent and the administrative council, for Board consideration and action. The committee, therefore, is an advisory committee to the Board.

2. The committee, as presently constituted, has representation from the groups that are normally affected by policies applicable to the school system as a whole. These groups include the primary teachers, the upper elementary teachers, junior and senior high teachers, the principals' and vice-principals' group, the directors in the central office, the Secretary-Treasurer, the Superintendent of Schools, and board members who may attend as they see fit. Up until the present time board members have not considered it necessary to attend the committee meetings as all policies must eventually come to the board for final consideration. A committee such as this permits the representatives of the groups that are particularly affected by a system-wide policy to participate fully in its development.

The only groups that are not yet represented on this committee are the parents and students. At the present time they are rather extensively represented on the Planning and Development Council which, among other things, also provides an opportunity for the members to offer suggestions respecting the formulation of policies of interest to them. There is a possibility that parents and students may, in the near future, also have representation on the Coordinating Committee.

3. The chairman of the committee is the Superintendent, or his designate. In all school systems the superintendent of the district is expected to serve as the educational leader.

Most school boards, if not all, also hold him accountable and responsible to the Board for the total operation of the school system. In order that he may adequately fulfill such a role it seems advisable that he should serve as the chairman of the district's main policy committee, or at least be a full member with every opportunity to exercise leadership. His leadership role on the committee should probably be comparable to that of the president of the university who, in Alberta, is required by legislation to serve as the Chairman of the General Faculties Council, which is the main policy formulating body relating to the internal operation of the university. Unless the superintendent has an opportunity to exercise leadership on the Coordinating Committee, in a manner similar to that of the university president, his position may be undermined and his efforts to coordinate the total operation may be seriously hampered.

4. The committee was established through adoption of a suitable policy statement outside the provisions of the Collective Agreement between trustees and teachers. The policy statement was developed through consultation with A.T.A. representatives and the principals' group. It is felt the establishment of such a committee outside the Collective Agreement has served to develop and to maintain, at least to the present date, a spirit of mutual cooperation and goodwill so essential to the effective operation of the committee. There has been no attempt on the part of the members to divide into opposing camps as is frequently the case in negotiation proceedings.

5. The committee has adopted the consensus approach. No attempt is made to vote on issues as it is felt that this may tend to polarize the committee. Rather the problem under consideration is carefully studied, related literature is searched if necessary, pros and cons are advanced, and after full discussion and input by all members in a spirit of mutual goodwill general agreement is reached. During the past three years that this committee has been in operation in Lethbridge this approach has worked effectively.

6. As a result of the input by representatives of all groups concerned, the soundness of the decisions arrived at and the policies developed are greatly enhanced. In view of this, if the committee has reached general agreement on a particular policy or course of action, the chances of the policy or course

of action being approved and adopted by the board are also greatly enhanced. It is possible the Board may have some changes to suggest and, if so, will refer these to the committee for further consideration. After one or two referrals, to and from the committee, the board in Lethbridge has always found it possible to adopt a policy generally agreed to by the Coordinating Committee.

7. Policies and courses of action agreed to by the Coordinating Committee and subsequently approved and adopted by the Board are not in any way tied to the provisions of the Collective Agreement. In view of this such policies can be readily reviewed and changed by the Coordinating Committee and the Board at ay timne. Ossification of the policy and the school system, which frequently results from the inclusion of clauses in the collective agreement is, therefore, avoided or greatly reduced.

8. The policy establishing the Coordinating Committee does not require that board members regularly attend committee meetings. Board members are free to attend as they may see fit. In Lethbridge, board members do not consider it necessary to attend committee meetings. They feel they will have ample opportunity to carefully consider policy ramifications when it comes to the board for appropriate action. To attend committee meetings they feel will take an undue amount of time and could result in unnecessary involvement in administrative matters.

9. Since policies and courses of action can be developed and agreed to by the committee whether board members are in attendance or not, it is evident that teachers can participate fully in the decision-making process with or without direct dialogue with board members. Teacher-board advisory committees that have been established in some areas are, therefore, unnecessary from the point of view of facilitating consultation and teacher participation in policy development procedures.

10. Since representatives of all groups concerned (except parents and students) have an opportunity to play a part in developing policies and programs of action, they tend to feel a high sense of commitment toward whatever policies and programs have been agreed upon. A sense of responsibility and accountability to one another also tends to be developed.

11. Bearing in mind the points as noted above, which support advisory committees having wide representation and establishment outside the Collective Agreement, the following comments respecting teacher-board advisory committees that have an equal number of teachers and trustees seem in order:

— They do not provide for an input of representatives of all groups concerned. Teachers and board members only are involved. Principals, central office personnel and the superintendent are omitted.

— The exclusion of the superintendent may serve to undermine his position and thus make it much more difficult for the Board to operate the school system in a smooth and effective manner. It will not only make it impossible for the superintendent to exercise the leadership that he should but will also make it impossible for the board to hold him accountable and responsible for the total operation of the school system.

— Teacher-board advisory committees established through the inclusion of a clause in the Collective Agreement may tend to foster a bargaining attitude on the part of many of the committee members. This in turn may generate a certain amount of antagonism and may cause the committee to divide into opposing camps with the result that nothing much will be accomplished.

— Since all groups concerned are not represented on an advisory committee with teachers and board members only, it is possible that the decisions taken and the policies proposed will not be as sound as those which are developed as a result of an input by all concerned. Because of this lack of full consultation, it is also probable that the Board will not as readily approve and adopt such proposed policies.

— The establishment of teacher-board advisory committees through the inclusion of a clause in the Collective Agreement may tend to ossify the committee in the sense that it may be difficult to later change the structure of the committee through negotiations.

— Attendance of board members at committee meetings as required in teacher-board committees will mean:

— That board members must be prepared to spend an undue amount of time in meetings while considering detailed development of policies. Many board members do not have such time.

— That to participate meaningfully in discussions, board members must acquaint themselves with the details of school operation and all educational implications. Board members are not expected to know such details. They have appointed their own administrators to look after such matters. If they are to become thoroughly acquainted with such matters and make decisions with respect to them, they (the board members) will tend to become administrators rather than policy makers.

With respect to the principals' group the following comments relating to its operation may be noted:

— This group is also an important policy developing body particularly in relation to administrative matters and procedures designed to promote effective operation of the schools.

— The chairman of the committee is the Superintendent of Schools or his designate.

— The consensus approach is used in a manner similar to that of the Coordinating Committee.

— Most of the policies and courses of action agreed upon are referred to the Coordinating Committee for suggested modification prior to submission to the board for final consideration and action.

— The principals' group serves as the main body for consultation purposes in the preparation of the annual budget.

— The group operates outside the provisions of the Collective Agreement. Policies developed and approved by the Board may, therefore, be reviewed and altered at any time.

Insofar as Curriculum and Ad Hoc committees are concerned, these operate in a manner similar to that of the principals' group. The chairman of the committees, however, is not the superintendent. This may be one of the directors

or a person chosen by the committee. The superintendent only serves as the chairman of the two main policy committees of the school system — the Coordinating Committee and the Principals' Group.

With respect to the Planning and Development Council, the following comments may clarify the operational procedures:

— This council is similar in structure and purpose to the consultative school committees established by the Montreal Catholic School Commission.[6] It is designed to provide parents and students with full opportunity to express their views respecting the operation of the school system.

— The council concerns itself primarily with long-range goals of the schools and ways and means by which the educational program might better meet the needs, abilities and interests of students. It also plays a part in the development of policies that are of direct interest to parents and students such as the policy and program related to the drug situation in our schools.

— The council is primarily a lay group. Membership includes ten parents, five students, and three professional persons.

— The chairman of the council is a parent elected by the council. The agenda for each meeting is usually prepared by the chairman and the superintendent who is also a member.

— This council was recently established in Lethbridge by the Board. It is now starting to explore what the long-range goals of the school system should be. In this connection it is examining the two brochures recently produced by the Department of Education concerning the purposes and goals of elementary and secondary education. It is hoped that this may in due course stimulate teachers to give increased attention to the development of specific objectives and ways and means of evaluating the extent to which these are being realized. Reports and recommendations prepared by the council are submitted directly to the board for consideration and action as it may see fit.

## INCREASING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH PROFESSIONAL AND LAY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

Most school personnel are well acquainted with procedures at the school level which are designed to provide staff members with an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. Some of these include meetings of administrative personnel, department meetings, regular staff meetings ,and meetings of Ad Hoc Committees. Procedures designed to give not only staff members a voice in the operation of the school but also parents and students may not be so well known.

As was referred to earlier, the Montreal Catholic School Commission in 1965 took steps to experiment with consultative committees at the regional and system-wide level. Such committees were designed not only to give teachers and administrators a say in the operation of the school system but also parents. So also, at a later date, the Commission encouraged principals to promote and facilitate the establishment of school councils at the school level having parent representation as well as professional. In 1969 the Lethbridge Public School Board adopted a policy which encourages principals to establish school or faculty councils having representation as follows:

— Principal and vice-principal of the school concerned.

— Two or three department heads where applicable.

— Two or three teachers elected by the staff.

— Two or three students elected or appointed by the students' executive. In elementary schools the council may have no student representatives due to the immaturity of such students.

— Two or three parents elected by the parents of the school concerned.

Some operational considerations respecting such councils include the following:

1. The council concerns itself with matters such as:
   — Development of a school philosophy and long-range goals consistent with those adopted by the Board for the school system as a whole.

— Development of policies and programs related to the internal operation of the school.

— Consideration of programs, approaches or ways and means that might be adopted to better meet the needs, interests, and abilities of students.

2. The chairman of the council is usually the principal though this need not necessarily be the case. It would be someone designated by the principal or elected by the council.

3. All members have an opportunity to suggest items for the agenda in advance so that when the agenda comes out one or two days prior to the meeting, everyone will have had an opportunity to give prior consideration to all agenda items.

4. The council meets regularly or as often as found necessary.

5. The consensus approach is usually employed. That is to say, the pros and cons of all issues are carefully considered and after full discussion general agreement is reached.

6. The council makes it possible for representatives of all groups that are affected by a proposed policy or program to play a part in its development.

7. The policies and decisions generally agreed upon are considered as recommendations to the principal. Since the Board and the superintendent hold the principal accountable and responsible for the total operation of the school, he is free to accept or reject the recommendation coming from the council. In nearly all cases if a spirit of mutual goodwill and cooperation prevails during the discussions of the council, and if the principal has also participated fully in the proceedings, the principal will find that he will be able to accept the policies and decisions agreed upon.

8. Since all groups have had a part in the decision-making process, all members tend to feel a sense of commitment to the policies and decisions agreed upon. A greater sense of responsibility and accountability to one another generally develops. The principal will also not only feel that he is accountable and responsible to the board but also to the groups represented on the council.

*Concluding Comments*

In concluding this presentation may I say that an attempt has been made in this paper to set forth:

— Some comments concerning the meaning, and application, of accountability in education.

— The purposes to be served by increased participation of professional and lay groups in the decision-making process.

— A suggested committee structure designed to facilitate increased participation on the part of professional and lay personnel.

— Some operational considerations which suggest the committee structure, particularly as it relates to the main policy developing committee, would be more effective if it operated outside the provisions of a Collective Agreement.

— Suggestions for involving professional and lay personnel at both the system-wide level and school level.

— Some comments indicating that from experience it has been found that increased involvement and participation on the part of professional and lay groups in the decision-making process tends to promote, on the part of the personnel involved, an increased sense of responsibility and accountability to one another, to the board, to the students, and to the community as a whole.

The involvement of professional and lay groups along the lines as described in this paper, or in some other fashion, seem mandatory in the total operation of a school system. Education is becoming so complex today that it is impossible for the board or the superintendent to govern and operate a school system in isolation. Neither the Board, nor the superintendent, can carry the total responsibility for all decisions without consultation, advice, and assistance from the professional staff, from the students, and from parents and other lay personnel.

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# 14

# Accountability by Introduction and Evaluations of Innovations

H. E. MAY

Before trying to express my ideas about accountability as it relates directly to innovation, I feel it is necessary to take a few moments to look at things in a more general way. I would like to make a few comments on the idea of cycles in education. Secondly, a recognition of our "running scared" syndrome is necessary to the development of the topic assigned to me for this paper.

In doing research for this paper I was immediately struck with the thought that we were reviving some very old ideas for at least the fifth or sixth reincarnation. I remembered the various "teach one and have him teach twenty," tutorial plans, the Quincy grammar school plan of grades and classes — regimented, the various contract teaching plans, the scientific management movement and many other systems for achieving those three E's which all good administrators must worship: Efficiency, Economy, Effectiveness. The net effect was that I saw accountability as a new variation of an old theme. As I would now perceive it, we see here a very old idea in new technological trappings. It amazed me that we could again fall into the trap which so many other educators had fallen into in the past. We are again trying to breathe new life into some discredited ideas. It is our constant hope that we can find something that will resolve the problems we face in each new time of difficulty. We are looking for

a cookbook. Yes, the time is ripe to look again for alchemist's formula for changing lead to gold. Silly, you say — well there have been recent writings in the literature of science which indicate that the quest for the universal solvent has still not been completely discarded. After all, we now know how to hold matter in magnetic fields. We don't need to worry about the solvent destroying the container any more.

Perhaps the quest for the universal panacea for educational problems is still worthwhile. But, I would ask, does the new technological trapping of accountability cover anything that is new or different? If not, can we expect old ideas in new form to help us do anything more than that which education has begun to be noted for? I refer here to hobby-horsing as one of our major occupations. If you remember your hobby horse, you undoubtedly recognize that there is always a lot of noise and movement, but no discernible progress.

As I noted, the time is again ripe for a rebirth of the open worship of the three E's. We have gone just about far enough, fast enough in our past twenty years of innovation to leave the major part of the public and many teachers far enough behind so they are confused and incapable of understanding what is happening in education today. At the same time this has happened, we have reached a level of cost to the public which cannot be accepted without question. This is especially true in the context of the present recession.

It is completely predictable that this should be happening. We could have predicted much of what is presently happening in education if we had taken the time to learn what took place in the progressive education movement of the 30's. When education goes beyond society's latitudes of understanding, we have consistently had social pressure put on the schools to reform.

Our response has been just as predictable as the scream of pain after a slow pin prick. We have in our running-scared syndrome, tried to come up with a cure-all that both laymen and slow staff members can understand. And everyone knows that the three E's are universally acceptable goals. We seem unable to recognize what the desires of the public are. I would suggest that they are not demanding that the new ideas we are trying to use must be better than anything else ever tried in education. I suggest that they are not even

asking us to prove that we are doing what we claim to be doing. I submit to you that the laymen in our society and many teachers are just asking that we are at least doing as well in "good solid" education with these children as was done by the schools with their parents.

I submit to you that our basic problem is to have programmes which can be understood in the context of what the parent went through and not at the same time lose much of the new life and direction which has come to education through the innovations we have implemented in the last twenty years. I would suggest that if you were running scared and you came to this conference with the idea that you could pick up the nuts and bolts and building blocks of accountability to take home, start using them, and thus save your (and education's) hide, you will be greatly disappointed. Accountability may look like a coin in the pot of gold but I believe that on close inspection you will find that it is a coin of lead, gold-plated to glitter, but really having minimal value as it is presently conceptualized.

Every progressive movement in education has been in the name of accountability. During the last twenty years we have been breaking our educational backs to achieve a relevant, open programme. We have said we must be more accountable to the things we know about children and learning and psychology and all the other humanistic ideals which we have been developing. Are they now all for naught?

Lest at this point the listeners begin to feel that I am one of the group that is seeing education as all rosy, I should say clearly that while much of this paper is critical of accountability in its present forms, I also do not support much of our present educational disregard for the three E's.

Now to go on — I would like to try to parallel the series of events which describe the general happenings in education during the first twenty years with the comparatively new accountability movement. Six words (which I will explain shortly) can sum up the idea:

| | |
|---|---|
| Conceptualization | Dissemination |
| Popularization | Bastardization |
| Demise | Reincarnation |

The progressive education movement of the first forty years of this century will be my starting point. During that period

we had the conceptualization and dissemination of a number of ideas of the best educators of that era. John Dewey and his followers had conceptualized a philosophy of education which changed our whole attitude toward children, and they had begun to disseminate the ideas to all who would listen. (Could this have been a reincarnation in a "modern" setting of the ideas of Rousseau and other earlier philosophers?) As the ideas were tried out in more and more places, we could say that a popularization of them took place on a very large scale.

Following, and even quite early in the popularization phase — "due to the unique situations encountered" a number of variations on the theme were developing. As time passed, the basic philosophical goals and processes for implementation of the original ideas were slowly lost. The process of bastardization was in full swing. (If you have read some of Dewey's later words you will remember that he disassociated himself from the abuses which were being carried out educationally in his name, and in the guise of progressive education.)

As the abuses became too much for the laymen and many of the teachers to accept, the movement came to its demise. It is also interesting to note that the scientific management movements, with many ideas similar to those in the accountability movement of today had great support in this period of bastardization and demise of the progressive education movement. There is a triple parallel with the present. Education was beyond lay understanding, times were "hard," and educators had to prove their worth. Now, how about our humanistic education movement of the last twenty years? Dewey has been reincarnated but with many new names. At least this time most of the writers admit that they were "aided" in their conceptualization by having at least a passing knowledge of Dewey and others of his time. Of course, there has been added to the old philosophy, the support of the new psychology. The ideas of Goodlad, Brown, Trump et al, their conceptualizations are the definitions we have held sacred in the present humanistic, innovative movements. The new accountability word in the present movement is "relevance."

The dissemination this time was fast. Much U.S. office money was available, times were plush. We had more kids

than we knew what to do with and, if properly handled, education was going to cure the ills of the world. All we had to do is implement these beautiful recurring philosophies. After all, we were now in a new era where technology would overcome all the shortcomings attendant to the last time it was tried.

And so the word was disseminated and became popularized — and the word "relevance" was God. But a new reality had crept in. At last we began to openly admit that there were things which, no matter how we tried, we could not evaluate. Education had the confidence in itself to actually stand up and admit that, in fact, we were slightly less than perfect, although, obviously better than anyone had the right to expect. And we were working hard to be even better. After all, why were we breaking our collective backs, hearts and wallets? Why, of course, to create a better educational system than ever before.

However, "due to unique situations" and the ignorance of many teachers and administrators, we began to bastardize the new ideas as fast as they were popularized. Trump says that after twenty years his ideas have never really been implemented. How many Trump Plan schools do you know?

Today we can see the signs of an early death for many of the "new" programmes which have been started in Canada. What else is happening? Why, of course, we all know it — times are tough, education is not understood by most laymen and many educators, and the three E's are staring us in the face. Are we perhaps running scared? Is that why you and I are here?

And now to the accountability movement. The concepts, as previously noted, are not new. They are the latest reincarnation of a recurring theme which has taken two almost diametrically opposed positions . . . The accountability *to the child* which is demonstrated in the movements to humanize the educational system and make it relevant. The other demonstrates accountability of educators *through the child.* I will come back to these differences later. For the present though, note that the idea is not new, it is a reincarnation in technological garb. The dissemination of the idea was rather slow for a few years. It has had its major impetus since the profit motive has been introduced. Systems analysis was an important aspect of the movement which may have

retarded it slightly due to the opposition of the dedicated humanists in the society who looked on these technological management ideas as being dehumanizing. At best, the movement has been spotty, but the idea is well into the popularization phase. Note, I say *the idea,* because the implementation lags far behind the vast popular discussion on the topic.

It may be interesting to note that something that took forty years in the progressive education movement and twenty years in the humanistics innovation movement of the present seems to be taking place in somewhat compressed and altered form with ideas of accountability.

Due to the "uniqueness of the situation" some of the concepts have already been bastardized before implementation. So there we stand today with some parallels. I will predict from them that there will be an early demise of the accountability movement unless some basic conceptualizations are changed in the movement.

In the hours of preparation for this paper I have been constantly aware of a feeling that surely the people who promote many of the accountability plans know that what they are doing has great gaps in conceptualization and technology necessary to carry out the programmes. Yet, I have seen no supporter of the movement approach these problems with an open candor and admittance that the new innovator doesn't have the whole answer. They are a convinced and dedicated group.

The obvious gaps in logic seem to belie the great claims of technological excellence of thinking claimed for the many plans.

As an example, all of the plans claim that their approach to education is more respectable than the regular school programmes which they replace. This respectability is the result of a completely systematized approach to the problems of education. I surely support the idea that we can and must do a better job of organizing education. However, almost all the accountability programmes have shown an alarming naiveté in their plans.

Although many claims are made regarding system analysis techniques and sophisticated feedback and corrective return systems, few seem to be in the plans when they start. It is a common problem in the situations now in operation

to find that staff members and students have gone "off on a tangent" which was unanticipated in the original design.

The immediate response to the new stimulus is not taken care of in the feedback system. Rather, a quick bandaid is thrown on the offending sore. A common characteristic which may be noted is that of constant patching, a randomness of response in the systems which cannot be recognized as being significantly different from many of our patch jobs in regular educational plans. Now I ask you, does this give one much confidence that either highly sophisticated planning or technological skill have gone into the plans and preparation?

Another common characteristic is that people running these accountability plans are doing exactly the same thing most other educators are doing. They are running scared. There is absolutely frantic movement at time to "make the machine work." It seems a common problem in anything of education that we spend more effort tinkering to keep an idea going than in its initial preparation. The new accountability plans continue to follow this model of imperfection.

The evaluation of the new programmes is nearly impossible when the procedures of implementation of the ideas are in a constant flux. Yes, the simplistic goals are often achieved, but how can we make sense of the random, make-do movements in these schools any better than we can use the old models for replication and improvement? All the success in the world will be of no great value across the face of education if these plans work for a few years, as many have, due to Hawthorne effect. It will just be another flashy innovation.

Surely, it can be clearly seen that with our limited data-gathering devices it is almost impossible to gather valid evidence about the overall quality of any educational endeavors. Are we willing to accept the simplistic approaches used in present plans of accountability as the whole definition of what we are doing in school? Will our attempt at creating an atmosphere in schools, which deliberately causes untestable affective domain results, go down the drain when a school doesn't do well in the testable factual areas of the curriculum? If that should happen I can see schools teaching nothing but reading and mathematics one day in the future, and someone bragging because the students in that school are high above the national norm. In our efforts to prove

our value, and in an attempt to demonstrate that we are accountable, will we revert completely to the teaching of only testable knowledge in the schools? Will we use and abuse our children to protect ourselves?

A close look at some of the techniques used for bringing about learning is also required. A number of plans work on the exchange theory. Simply stated, this means that people do things because they are rewarded for doing them. It is used in industry, i.e., pay for work, and it is now being used to encourage children to opt in to the learning situation. It is another form of operant conditioning which is best known for its use in teaching retarded children simple, direct tasks.

The premise here is a clear one. If you can arrange a payment plan for the work done by the student he will do the work required. Usually, small items are used as rewards such as toys, food, small radios, etc. By an accumulation of credits in the form of tokens, etc., it is conceivable that the student could accumulate a car by the time he is through school — if he saves his "green stamps." In fact, though, most students in these plans spend their earnings just as adults do — fast! It would seem that anyone who gets on to this bandwagon is asking for future troubles. What do we do when all the students agree that the pay isn't adequate, and they decide not to work for the small rewards given them? Perhaps the toys, etc., will lose their glamour. After all, there is a limit to motivation of this type.

The end result of this may be the creation of a new generation of the acquisitive society at just the time when we are feeling that the constant quest for more and more materialistic fulfillment may be harmful to us as a social system. We may be creating unresolvable social conflict. Perhaps the innovators and planners of the new accountability have recognized this and have within their game plan a future alternative. Why, it might even be grades and joy of learning as the new, new rewards!

As is true with most innovative ideas in education, we are inundated with stories about the new ideas and the wonders they will perform for us. In the few short years since the new round of accountability has begun, there has been a number of failures. The original design was so wanting that it was ineffective. Have you read about them? I am sure

not. We have practically no hard information on the failures and problems of the innovation. May I suggest that the accountability movement has imposed upon itself a requirement for purity, honesty, and openness to *all* men not often accepted by innovative groups before. Their veracity must come from open demonstrations to laymen and professionals alike, that they can plan and produce a programme of instrution equal to or better than those normally found in the schools. They have the requirement to demonstrate this, or admit their failures. I'm still waiting for either of the two alternatives to happen.

It would be posible to go on for some time nit-picking. My point is simply this — it is "put up or shut up time" for accountability, as well as the present programmes of instruction. I will now attempt to outline what I believe will be the minimally acceptable premises upon which the accountability movement must rest.

*First.* A basic concept in evaluation is that both the evaluator and the evaluated must agree on the goals of the programme. In a significant number of programmes, goals are set by the creators of the plan with little, if any, student involvement and often with no involvement of the staff of professionals (I use that term advisedly in the circumstances) who will be implementing the programme. It is in complete opposition to present thinking regarding teacher and (often) student participation in decision-making. Anything less than this type of involvement is unacceptable.

*Second.* The type of data and the method of acquiring them will have to be much more clearly delineated before it is even slightly acceptable to many of us as a criterion measure of what a school is doing.

*Third.* Programmes must include teachers in planning for implementation. The literature of management and psychology of motivation say that if a person helps plan his goals (number one above) and tasks, he will become committed to them, and the results of his labours will be more productive. In these circumstances, his psychological health is increased and he is a better person to work with. Surely we want the psychologically healthiest and most dedicated people we can find to work with our children.

*Fourth.* It should be demonstrated that programmes of education in the accountability plans do not emphasize those things being tested at the sacrifice of the more rounded (less specifically academic-oriented) education for the children.

*Fifth.* It must be recognized that evaluation does not guarantee progress. We must have an assurance that the results of any evaluative technique will be looked at in a multitude of ways to check their validity.

*Sixth.* Until much better instruments than those which presently exist are available, the affective domain will not be tested with traditional instruments.

*Seventh.* Before curricular changes are made in the name of (or because of) an accountability plan, it should be demonstrated that the changes can reasonably be expected to have as good results as the plan they are replacing.

Now to return to the ideas of accountability *to* children, *not through* children. There is a danger in many of our attempts to prove our worth that we will use children in inappropriate ways. The reason we are looking at accountability is to show ourselves and our society that the trust placed in education is not lost. If we make frantic attempts to reorganize a system which is still in the throes of change in the humanistic open approach, we will most assuredly see the public and more teachers ask the question — what are we trying to do? The idea of future shock bears close scrutiny here. It seems man needs some time to rest after his toils. We have gone through some drastic changes in rebuilding education. Perhaps we should let the windswept waters subside while we gather our strength for new assaults. We were unhappy with traditional education, we have largely replaced it, but we have not had time to evaluate the change. Now, we are again replacing a programme, in many cases with a second and third generation change, without knowing what we were changing from, or, for that matter, to. I indicated earlier that we may be on a survival trip. If we go to many more changes without knowing where we are starting from, I would begin to see it as a death wish. A new innovation might be, at this time to find out where we are educationally.

If we wish to approach this honestly, we must recognize that there is little evidence to date (except perhaps in the

Cherry Hill plan) which indicates education is doing a better job under the new systems approach than under old programmes. We have little evidence to indicate that there is any positive change in either teachers or students under the new plans of accountability. But to some people it will feel good, and thus, it will be good.

I hope we will not force children into molds of sterile learning in our frantic quest for a panacea. We are now at a fork in the road. As I see it, we can go three ways. We may respond too strongly to the demands of society that we prove we are doing a good sound job of basic education. We can buy the simplistic approach to accountability which too often hides a return to traditional fact-learning education programmes, in new technological terminology. We can reject modern terminology and revert to the "good old days" of external examinations, cookbook teaching with 50% of the students dropping out of school physically and 90% dropping out psychologically. We can go through the routines which characterized the education profession for years.

We can go to the opposite extreme. Disregard the three E's to create a more and more effective educational system and hope that it will work. We can let our heart lead us and surely society will recognize that in our pureness of purpose and love of the child we should be supported.

Another, and the only viable alternative which I can see, is a synthesis of sound innovation and recognition of the society's demands for accountability. The ideas of accountability and of modern approaches to educational reform are both defensible and not necessarily antithetical to each other. In modern innovative programmes of instruction and accountability we have a common fault. We have not developed the tools necessary to carry out the philosophy. I have indicated earlier in this paper a series of events which characterize educational idea change. You will note that there seems to be a built-in antagonism between the ideas of humanism and accountability. Can they live in the same house? I am sure they can. As we acquire skills of implementation of ideas, we can surely become more efficient, effective and economical in our school organizations.

Can't we accept the idea that we will test and evaluate those things which can be handled in that manner with valid and acceptable instruments and techniques and at the

same time keep the gains which have been acquired in our recent humanistic curricular changes? If we really do a better job in arriving at the three E's in the testable areas of the curriculum, we should be able to, through efficiency, actually gain time for the other parts of the curriculum valued by so many of us.

I believe that we can demonstrate to the world that we are doing a better job in teaching basic knowledge than many are willing to credit us with. I believe we can teach the basics at the same time we are innovating to humanize and open the school. But, it will take a great deal of will to innovate in cooperation with, rather than in opposition to ideas of the opposing camps. It is time to use our knowledge of cycles of change in cooperative innovation rather than in futile battles. Both camps have much to offer each other. This type of cooperation must be the new innovation. Society wants both humanism and the three E's. I believe we should get to the task of the new synthesis demanded of us.

I have appended a bibliography to this paper. It has over one hundred titles in it. I do not commend it to you as a reading list. As is too often true, a new idea sparks many writers to write because they think they should add their thinking to it; often they have not read enough and they just "rediscover the wheel." Too often their writing is repetitive and really doesn't add much — sad to say, this is the case in accountability. In closing, I want to mention a recent 'phone call made to me. I was contacted by a school principal who was in charge of a study committee in his division. He indicated that they were very traditional and they thought it was time to "get with it" in modern education. In our discussion I tried to find out just exactly what he was thinking. After a considerable discussion, which included a request for my services as a consultant, I finally demanded — what do you want of me? His response was "Well, God, we've got to do something, and we thought you might have an idea."

In summary —

Let's not innovate because we are running scared.

Let's learn from the innovative cycles that we are rediscovering old truths.

Let's recognize the futility of the openness vs. accountability battle.

Let's innovate a synthesis of the best thinking in both philosophies.

As for this paper — If you came for a cookbook you had better go hear another salesman.

# 15

# Curriculum, Accountability and Human Potential

J. R. FRYMIER

One cannot fail to be awed as he stands at the foot of these majestic mountains and studies their intricate beauty and marvels at their exquisite texture and form. It makes one wonder about his own significance and the importance of what he does. But like the mountains, we, too, are creatures of God's making. We, too, are an integral part of the universe, and we, too, will make an impact and have a lasting impression upon those with whom we interact. Just as the mountains move us to dream bigger dreams and think better thoughts than we have dreamed or thought before, so, too will our presence make an impact and a difference upon the lives and minds of those with whom we work. The question is: "What kind of difference will that be?" Will children and teachers and others be better off because we came along, or will their lives in some way be diminished or negated? In what directions will our efforts and our being make them go?

Several years ago I wrote a paper entitled: "Should Schools Force Children to be Free?" The paper was never published, but it became a key concept in the development of my own professional thought. The notion of forcing people to be free is a perplexing idea, to say the least, but I am willing to argue for that kind of logic, as illogical as it may seem. I am willing to do whatever I can, for example, to insist that youngsters grow up to be tolerant rather than intolerant, open minded rather than dogmatic, independent rather than dependent or dominating human beings. I am

willing to work in whatever ways I can to insure that they grow up thinking positive thoughts about themselves and others rather than negative thoughts being tolerant of ambiguity rather than intolerant, accurate in the way they perceive rather than inaccurate or distorting of what they hear and see and feel. Being democratic means acquiring one set of behaviors and avoiding the others, and I am very willing to do what I can — as a teacher, as a parent, as a citizen — to see that children grow up in ways which will guarantee that they will think and feel and act as free men in democratic ways.

I make that point because I want it clearly understood that I am not against efforts directed at control, if the control will, in fact, mean greater freedom and greater growth for the persons who are involved. But something else seems to be at work in the accountability talk which is going around. Control is certainly apparent, but whose purposes are being served? What ends are being sought? What hidden agendas and obfuscated objectives are being pursued? Mr. Blaschke maintains that his preparations regarding performance contracting are aimed at bringing innovation and modification of program into the school. But he was paid a $20,000 fee for the Texarkana project alone.[1] And when that project maintains that the materials are predicated upon stimulus-response theory,[2] and cites Skinner as the major theoretician upon whose principles the project is based, my concerns become increasingly exaggerated. Skinner's new book argues for something which he says lies beyond freedom, but it smells of totalitarianism and unhealthy kinds of control, to me.

Let me read to you from the Texarkana Proposal how the Dorsett Company describes their motivational techniques. They state early in the proposal that "we will . . . utilize programed instruction booklets . . . for our basic reading program."[3] And then this is how they propose to motivate students to use the materials they have selected:[4]

> The stimulus for the refinement of contingency management was, quite basically, the difficulty of motivating students to complete PI (programmed instruction) sequences. . . . To considerably oversimplify, it was found that a great many activities could be identified which the student would prefer to engage in (rather) than

> going through a PI sequence. These activities, called high-probability behaviors, can be specified by observing students, asking them, or sometimes prompting them through the use of a "reinforcement memo." Once an appropriate high-probability behavior is identified, it can be used to reinforce the lower-probability behavior of attending to an instructional unit. . . . The key is to let the student himself identify the desired high-probability behavior, and then to make a 'performance contract,' either written or verbalized, in which the student agrees to perform a certain amount of low-probability behavior in return for the consideration of being permitted to engage in a higher-probability behavior for a specified period of time.

Perhaps my interpretation is incorrect or my values are all wrong, but that sounds sinister and Machiavellian to me. It presumes that the end justifies the means, and the end is determined, not by the student, but by the internal evaluator,[5] and the student is going to achieve it, whether he wants it or needs it or not.

For himself, Mr. Blaschke will not engage in directing, controlling behaviors. In the Texarkana Project his objectives are stated in terms of "assisting the participants" to define and refine operational terms, to connect the objectives to performance specifications, to develop mutually acceptable criteria for evaluating subcontractor proposals, and the like.[6] I honor his own statements of purpose, but wonder why it is appropriate to spell out precisely in behavioral terms limiting objectives for students but facilitating objectives for adults. Actually, I would guess that Mr. Blaschke knows that the production model of management fits very well if you are dealing with things, but it works very poorly if you are dealing with people, unless you decide that it is all right to treat people like things.

Systems theory is a fantastically powerful concept of management, but as it is generally used in presumes "Theory X" rather than "Theory Y," which MacGregor described. And if the assumptions and premises are wrong, a powerful management theory can make bigger and harsher mistakes than a cruder or simpler theory. McNamara's logic led America down a rotten trail in the Vietnam war. Probably no nation in history every executed such a monumental

blunder with such precision as we did when we committed that horrendous fiasco on both ourselves and the Vietnam people. And the argument that McNamara had bad data for his formulations simply is not true. The Pentagon Papers make patently obvious that all signs pointed to an impassible situation, all data indicated that our objectives could never be achieved in any reasonable way — but the data was ignored. And Charles Hetch, the master theoretician behind systems theory, now presides over the most messed up, demoralized, distintegrating university in the world.

Something has to be wrong with those systems concepts, at least as they are presently being applied. I am very much in favor of change in education. I am very much in favor of new and better management techniques in schools. Goodness knows, many schools are now guided out of someone's hip pocket, with notes written on the backs of old envelopes and decisions made over scotch and water after a long night of arguing and compromise. That approach is not sound either.

Change is important. But can we examine our basic assumptions about people and about schooling and submit those assumptions to examination with a possible view toward changing them?

For example, man can produce objects and ideas and things, but man cannot produce people. Oh, one man and one woman can create life through sexual activity, of course, but beyond that very meaningful and rewarding aspect of human existence, man cannot produce any living thing. He can help corn grow, for example, but he cannot grow corn. God and the corn do the growing. Man can stand by and watch and wait. He can foster and facilitate growth, of course, by varying the environment, adding nutrients to the soil, bringing water through irrigation if that is needed, but man cannot grow corn. The corn does the growing on its own.

In the same way, man cannot learn children, but he can help them learn. He cannot grow a child, but he can help a youngster grow. Men can build houses and airplanes and things, but they can only work with the life process and alongside of growing organisms in an effort to help the persons or the plants or the animals develop and grow on their own.

What I have said may seem ridiculously obvious, but I feel that it has to be said anyway. And later in this paper I will come back to this point again. Let us now return to the assumptions point again. It is the assumptions about human motivation which seen most central in the accountability mechanisms, and I wonder whether those assumptions are acceptable and defensible in a society such as ours; in a society which is predicated upon the notions of worth and dignity for every single human being. Even convicted murderers in prison are demanding that they be treated as human beings.

In *The Social Contract* Robert Ardrey tells the story about a Dutch oil refinery manager who changed his assumptions about human beings and increased production at the refinery more than 200 percent.[7] There are other management theories which might be utilized in schools, in other words, which would theoretically raise achievement levels and facilitate growth, but which would not be based on the notion that kids dislike learning and have to be seduced and enticed or they will not learn at all. Obviously our conventional practice and program is not working very well, for some children, at least, and it absolutely has to be changed. That much I know. The question is: "What should be the nature of the change?" "Which way ought we to go?" I am not sure at all, but let me think through a set of ideas with you which are related to curriculum and human potential, and which start with the premise that schools and schooling have to change.

It is fashionable today for speakers to talk about change and for writers to write about change. Toffler's exciting book, *Future Shock,* begins this way:[8]

> In the three short decades between now and the twenty-first century, millions of ordinary, psychologically normal people will face an abrupt collision with the future. Citizens of the world's richest and most technologically advanced nations, many of them will find it increasingly painful to keep up with the incessant demand for change that characterizes our time. For them, the future will have arrived too soon.

Change has been a part of man's way since the beginning of time, but the pace of change is accelerating phenomenally today. When Norman Cousins maintains "that 1940 was

more than a hundred years ago,"[9] we understand that point. Being in Washington today, San Francisco tomorrow, and Banff the next day is not unusual. That is typical, in fact. Communication, transportation, social relations, conceptualizations — these are the areas of fantastic change.

It has been suggested, for example, (though I have misplaced the reference) that man now has developed, to the theoretical level, at least, the capacity to transmit people by means of electronic impulse. And before this century is out, the odds are very great that we will have developed the hardware to communicate boxes and objects and things by electronic means. Imagine the changes that will come about when man can transmit objects through space at the speed of light. Think of the changes that will have to occur when people are able to "send themselves" from "here" to "there" electronically. Perhaps things will develop to the point that we will be able to enter a booth, dial a certain set of numbers, and — zip — we would leave that spot and find ourselves in another booth thousands of miles away in less than a second. Sound fantastic? Of course! So did the idea of sending men to the moon at speeds of thousands of miles an hour sound fantastic just a hundred years ago at the time of the Civil War. But the Civil War and Man on the Moon are both history now. Both have been accomplished and are part of our living past.

To speculate that man can devise a means of sending himself at the speed of light along the waves of light is not idle speculation. The odds are very great that such speculations will come to be. And what will the world be like when such technology is made operational? What will the world be like when transportation and communication are the very same thing? What will happen to our cities? What will become of the automobile industry and the aircraft industry and our highway system? What kinds of social problems and educational problems and employment problems will we face then?

Questions such as these are almost unthinkable. Most of us can hardly comprehend the idea of transportation becoming synonomous with communication, let alone being able to sort out the implications of such a proposition. And yet we must. The people who will have to live in that kind of world and cope with these kinds of problems are in our schools right now or will be in our schools during the years that we

are there. The obligation to help them equip themselves for that kind of age is ours. We may not live to see that development occur, but we already have lived to see events of that very same order take place, so we know that the possibilities are very real that transportation will come to be communication. And when that day comes, will our responsibilities to the young have been fulfilled? Will we have provided them with the opportunities and the experiences to develop the attitudes and skills and understanding which will serve them well when that day dawns? That is our charge; our professional responsibility. What can we do?

It may be that both the least and the most that we can do is to conceptualize and operationalize a comprehensive system for developing human potential. We need the ideas and the mechanisms for helping people develop their own potentialities for serving themselves and their fellow man in creative, positive, humane ways. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to think through some of the problems and some of the possibilities inherent in such a proposition. Four main ideas are involved. What is a system? What does it mean to help people develop? What aspects of human potential are most likely to be important and useful if they are developed? And what implications are inherent in the answers to these kinds of questions regarding the kinds of programs which we should provide, the research we should encourage, the support concepts and systems we should develop, and the like? Each of these general areas is explored briefly below.

## THE CONCEPT OF SYSTEM

Man is a functioning complex of systems. The amoeba is a system. The earth and its people and all of the plants and water and rocks and air is also a series of systems. A system may be simple or complex; small or large; living or nonliving; fully functioning or somehow impaired. The atmosphere and water pollution problems we are currently facing are illustrations of how our earth as an ecological system is being impaired. The recession we are experiencing is an illustration of how our economic system is not fully-functioning. This conference is an expression of our concern to make education a more viable, effective social system. Everything is a part of many systems.

But "functioning systems" and "systems theory" are not the same. Understanding or building a system is not the same as using what is typically referred to as "systems theory," which is essentially a mechanism for control. One might argue that in the abstract they are the same thing, but that point would require a more complete examination than will be possible here. The premise of this paper will rest upon the notion of a system as a dynamic, functioning entity which is self-controlling rather than as a linearization and looping mechanism by which one person or a group controls another.

The need for a comprehensive system to help people develop is real. The question is: what kind of system should it be? Education is a social system. Government is a social system. Economics is a social system. Medicine, religion, postal service, garbage collection, and agriculture are all social systems. If we are concerned with creating a comprehensive personnel development system, then we probably ought to pattern our efforts after a human system or social system rather than some non-human system that we might try to comprehend and describe.

A social system[10] is a human undertaking aimed at furthering or realizing some particular human cause. Conceptually it embraces diverse groups bound together in working relationships to achieve particular human ends. Every social system, large or small, involves a number of people working together in unique but cooperative ways to realize the attainment of some human objective.

Every fully-functioning, effective social system reflects three phases of operation which accomplish separate functions that enable the system to maintain itself in a dynamic, creative, growing way. Phase one includes the intellectual activities: the planning, policy-making, and hypothesizing aspects of the system. Phase two involves the doing, accomplishing, effecting aspects of the system. Phase three involves the evaluating, reflecting, assessing, and judging aspects of the system. Taken together, they represent those fundamental operations of social undertakings which are designed to allow the system to accomplish the objectives toward which it is aimed, and at the same time to keep improving.

The three phases are most clearly illustrated in our concept of government. The planning phase is represented by the legislative branch. The doing phase by the executive branch. The evaluating or assessing phase by the judicial branch. But in economics and industrial production, the model still holds: somebody plans, somebody produces, and somebody judges the effectiveness of activities in a realistic way.

Lest we think that these are relatively recent notions, perhaps it would be useful to recall that the prophet Isaiah declared that "the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our King; he will save us."[11]

Any careful study of social systems other than education suggests that these three functions — planning, doing, evaluating — are relatively discreet and they are accomplished by different groups, each one of which has a realm of power. That is, the Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court are different entities, but they are a part of the total functioning system. Each has its own sphere of authority, however, and the dynamic interaction of the three enables the system to reflect both continuity and change; stability and modifiability, if you please.

Fully-functioning social systems in an open society actually depend upon the third phase of the operation to assure improvement and intelligent change. Systems which possess integrity — that is, systems which are complete and concerned with truth — function in such a way that they use the data created during the evaluative phase of the operation as a substantiative basis for positive change. That idea will not be elaborated more fully here, but it is assumed to be a keystone concept. And education as it presently functions is lacking in that realm. The press for accountability, the concern for control, the insistence upon careful evaluative components all reflect efforts to move education in the direction of a more fully-functioning social system — one which is complete and concerned with truth.

If a system for developing human potential were to be conceptualized and realized, it would obviously be some kind of educational system. The one we presently have is inadequate and incomplete. It lacks an effective evaluative component. It does not reflect separation of authority according to function, as social systems with integrity do. There is, in

fact, a consolidation of authority in hierarchial arrangements rather than distribution of authority according to function and role. The existing arrangements are predicated upon notions which served the ancient church and Caesar's legions well, but they are conceptually inadequate and theoretically wrong for a rapidly changing, complex, interdependent society such as we have today. A system for tomorrow must be built along different lines. It must relate the component functions of the system dynamically so that creative interplay rather than stagnation, harmonious utilization of talent rather than conflict of interest, and powerful releasing rather than coercive restraint ensues.

## HELPING PEOPLE DEVELOPMENT

"Developing people" and "helping people develop" are related but different approaches to the problem of fostering the growth of human potential. "Developing people" implies *doing something to them* which directs their growth along lines and in ways that somebody else wants to see achieved. "Helping people develop" implies *helping them do something* which directs their growth along lines and in ways that they hope to achieve. The difference is very great. In our society, at least (and I think in every human breast), man wants his hand upon the tiller as well as on the oar. Men want to set their own directions as well as exert energy to achieve those goals. That seems to be a part of man's way of doing things. But even if it is a truism that men want to chart their own goals and objectives and to choose their own stars to steer by, it is also true that other men will want and try to do those things for them.

To say it another way, the desire for freedom and the pursuit of liberty seem to be matched with a desire on the part of some to restrict and control their fellow man, albeit "for his own welfare." Those opposing notions are as old as recorded history itself. The only point in describing them here is to advocate one and argue against the other, as appealing as it may appear to be.

That is, "helping people develop" is intended to mean fostering, facilitating, encouraging, nourishing, expenditing, cultivating, and assisting other people to move in directions which make sense to them and which are productive, positive, hopeful ways in which to go. "Developing people" is

used in other ways. This paper argues for the "helping people develop" notion and against the "developing people" idea.

The problems arise, of course, not in the abstractions but in the concrete instances of everyday life. What if an individual wants to become a thief, desires to be dishonest and deceptive, or hopes to learn how to restrict and control others in order to satisfy his fancy or whims. Those directions or objectives are unacceptable, from my point of view, and nothing in this paper should be construed to mean that I feel man should be allowed to do whatever or however he so pleases, irrespective of the health or welfare or interests of other persons. That is not true.

On the other hand, neither do I feel that it is appropriate to decide which jobs are fit for particular people, which sections of the community they ought to live in, which books they ought to read, movies they ought to see, or foods they ought to eat. Nor do I feel that any master "planning group" ought to try to map out such decisions for particular men.

The balance between choice and control — between freedom and restriction — is often a very delicately poised thing. My only point is that I want to argue for the one and against the other; in the direction of choice and against control. In doing so I neither presume that man is basically good nor reject the notion that he is basically evil. He is probably a mixture or blend of both, and both are probably learned rather than predispositions which are actually acquired. Be that as it may, a *system for helping people develop* should be characterized by operations and organizations which expand choice rather than restrict it, maximize the availability of information rather than diminish it, enhance the value of the individual rather than demean it and which foster growth and life rather than decay or death. Intimidation, insinuation, demands, discouragement, and the like would not be found. Cooperation, facilitation, encouragement, discussion, exploration, and valuing would be everywhere.

Teachers would respond to students instead of expecting students to respond to them. Subject matter and experiences would be selected to fit the logic of a growing learner's mind rather than the structure of the discipline or society's needs or industry's demands.

What I am arguing for, of course, is a way of thinking, a direction an inclination or a tendency, if you please. Life is give and take, push and pull, speak and listen — that much I know. But "helping people develop" means moving with the life force rather than against it and contriving educational experiences and subject matter and organizational arrangements and methodological approaches which truly "meet the needs of the individual" rather than national or local or subject matter or professional concerns. "Helping people develop" means helping them "do their own thing" in their own way in a manner and by a means which is neither restrictive nor demeaning of other persons who may be involved. That is a big job, but it must be done.

The system, the curriculum, the methodologies, the administrative arrangements, the evaluative criteria, even the purposes themselves must all be changed. Along this line Peter Drucker has suggested a number of interesting propositions. For example, he says:[12]

> What we need are not "better teachers." Indeed, we cannot hope to get "better teachers" in quantity. In no area of the human endeavor have we ever been able to upgrade the human race. We get better results by giving the same people the right tools and by organizing their work properly. We need to "learn smarter."

Drucker's propositions are that we need new tools — conceptual and artifactual — to extend and expand the impact of what we do and how we do it. That is probably our basic need in education right now: we need new theoretical conceptualizations related to "helping people develop" and we need new purposes, new subject matter, new organizational strategies, new interactive approaches, and new evaluative devices to make it work most effectively and most powerfully.[13] Anything less may be too little.

## A CONCEPT OF HUMAN POTENTIAL

Many facets of human existence affect what people do: age, sex, race, intelligence, religion, motivations, past experiences, family situation, culture, opportunity, and the like.

Historically educators have considered as crucial and manipulated in the educational situation such factors as age,

race, intelligence, and opportunity. That is, by grouping youngsters according to age, race or intelligence quotient, for example, they have attempted to take into consideration those factors or variables which were felt to be important in children's learning. Some such efforts were supposedly for the students' benefit (e.g., grouping according to age or IQ), while other were obviously designed to serve perverse needs of the adults in the community (e.g., grouping according to race).

In more recent time, exponents of certain variables of the human condition have pressed hard for educational and social changes which would honor the uniqueness and importance of those factors. We have witnessed in recent years a particular emphasis of sex upon the part of females, for example, in such a way that sexuality has been elevated to a position of prominence in the thoughts of all. In the very same way, blacks have pushed black concerns to the forefront of our thinking, and argued vehemently sometimes that "blackness" become an issue of central concern in school.

Blackness, sexuality, and age, are more than potentialities of human existence. They are realities. Yet what has been pressed for is a further development, a further expression, and a further realization of those qualities of characteristics which already exist.

Those efforts are probably appropriate. What seems to be at issue is the question of balance or significance. I would guess that the fact that a man is black is important, but the fact that he is a man is even more important, and the fact that he is 17 or 45 or 82 years old may be even more important still. Or the fact that a woman is intelligent may be important, but the fact that she is a woman may be still more important, and the fact that she is 17 or 45 or 82 may be even more important still.

My point is, some aspects of human existence are very important, but some are more important than others. Further, some aspects of human existence are modifiable and some are firmly fixed. Race, sex, and age, for instance, are relatively inflexible realities. For all practical purposes, modifiability or development of those characteristics can only occur within fairly narrow limits.

Other human attributes are more amenable to influence; they can be affected — either positively or negatively — to a much greater degree. For the purposes of this discussion, two factors have been singled out as particularly significant, both in terms of their potential for development and growth and in terms of their influence on learning in general. These two factors are intelligence and motivation.

Intelligence was thought for many years to be as fixed as race or sex or age. Either a youngster "had it" or he did not. The old story about a child who was "two bricks shy of a load" implies the permanence with which many people thought about intelligence only a decade or so ago.

Today we know that intelligence, like many other human attributes, is modifiable, and over time a child may grow to be less intelligent, depending upon the kind of diet or intellectual stimulation or social interaction patterns which he experiences, or he may grow to be more intelligent. The studies synthesized by Bloom[14] and Hunt[15] demonstrate clearly and convincingly that what we generally refer to as "intelligence" is potential as well as reality; modifiable as well as "given"; subject to the exigencies of the environment as well as affected by what Ardrey calls "the accident of the night" — genetic patterns fixed at conception.[16] When we add to these ideas of growth of intelligence Guilford's concepts of kinds or types of intellectual processes, products, and uses, we can begin to grasp the enormous potential which exists within every human being.[17] Wilhelms[18] has suggested that educators may be able to raise the average IQ level of all people in the United States by 30 points or more within a relatively short period of time. If we want to, we can. The potential is there. The techniques for cultivating that potential and fostering that growth are already known. We may choose not to, but if we want to, we can enrich young people's educational lives to the point that we will literally blow the IQ level right off the top of the chart. But only if we want to, and the "want to" question is a motivational concern.

Motivation gives direction and intensity to human behavior.[19] Motivation to learn gives direction and intensity to behavior in an educational context. Motives relate to the "why" of human behavior. What people do, how they do it, when or where it is done are all important, but *why* people do what they do is the motivational question.

The basic purpose of a system which is designed to help people develop their own potentialities must be to help them learn. But *helping people learn* means helping people learn:

1. to value learning
2. to want to learn
3. how to learn
4. to value knowledge
5. to acquire knowledge
6. to understand knowledge
7. to behave according to knowledge.

The ultimate objective of any system for helping people develop their own potential must be to help those people learn to *behave* according to the best knowledge that is available at any given point in time. And "motivation to learn" ought to aim people in that direction.

But helping people behave according to factual knowledge is not possible unless people *understand that knowledge,* unless they give meaning to that knowledge from their own past experience. Meaning always comes from the individual and what he has already learned, and not from the facts themselves. Understanding represents the union of past experience and new stimuli in the learner's mind.

Because acquisition of knowledge preceeds understanding, educational systems must help students *acquire knowledge.* Helping people acquire information and knowledge is an educational objective that must be realized before those students can proceed to objectives such as understanding and behaving.

In the same way, helping learners acquire knowledge is hardly meaningful unless those persons *value knowledge* first. Unless they believe in the importance and value of information and facts, mere acquisition is pointless.

The logic goes even further. Valuing knowledge is not possible unless students have *learned how to learn.* That is, the skills of learning are not only means to more noble ends, but purposes in their own right.

Learning how to learn, however, is meaningless if students have not learned to want to learn. And learning to want to learn is an educational objective, too.

Helping people learn to want to learn, though, presumes that those persons *value learning,* which is the most basic educational objective of all. Unless people have learned to believe in the value of learning as a human activity, nothing else will count much anyway.

To begin with the idea that motivation is that which gives direction and intensity to behavior is not to suggest, therefore, that the direction is aimless or unknown. Quite the contrary. "Motivation to learn" means many things, and the general direction in which such learning should lead, according to my values and understanding, has been sketched in above.

Because these purposes are functionally related to one another, however, there is an inexorable logic to the direction which has been defined. This logic leads toward the idea of "rational man" (i.e., man who uses the power of intelligence in such a way that his actions and thoughts are consistent with factual knowledge), and then, presumably, to "the good life." Thus it is consistent with the heritage of Western man struggling to realize that which is both "good" and "true."

Motivation presumes valuing, and values are learned behavior; thus motivation, at least in part, is learned and it can be taught. Any system designed to help people develop their own potentialities would foster the development of those people's motivation to learn.

The need to know is a pressing, relentless part of life itself. Unless we learn, we deteriorate and die. Like water, food, and air, knowledge and stimulation is the stuff of life itself. But if man's need to know is so basic a human need, why do motivational problems show up in school? Why do some young people despise learning; drop out of school, and turn away from that which is supposed to meet their basic human needs? Two things seem crucial: the positive and negative aspects of the unknown; and the confusion of wants and needs.

The unknown attracts and it repels. Confronted with the uncertain and the unclear, man hesitates, and then goes slow.

Sometimes what we do not know can hurt us. It can maim. It can destroy. The unknown can be fightening. The unsuspected cancerous growth, a washed out bridge on a rainy night, new dress styles we do not understand, or the arrogant neighbor who just moved next door arouse our anxieties to varying degrees. Until we find a way to anchor ourselves securely to the familiar, we are reluctant to consider, let alone embrace the unknown and the novel.

But we are also fully aware that lack of knowledge may be very important, too. This is why the unknown attracts us as well as repels. For example, few Americans are aware of the fact that increases in the amount of carbon dioxide in the air profoundly affects the temperature of the earth, which could result in the melting of the Antarctic ice caps, but they know about the dangers of pollution. "The melting of the Antarctic cap would raise sea level by 400 feet," Barry Commoner reports.[20] Obviously what we do not know can hurt us or hurt our children, so we are drawn to new data and new knowledge in the same way that we are held back.

Whether we move toward or away from new experience and new information depends upon the kind of person that we have become and the way we see ourselves. If we are secure, adequate, unthreatened, then we are more able to reach out and seek out the unfamiliar. If we are insecure, afraid, uncomfortable, then we are more likely to expend our energies conserving and defending what we are rather than moving toward what we might become. Man cannot step forward unless he has one foot planted firmly on solid ground.

In psychological terms, man cannot seek out and search in a world of data that he does not know if he lacks the security and stability of a positive concept of self. He must believe in his importance and his worthwhileness and in his capacity to cope with that which is not already precisely known to him. The unknown attracts and it repels, but attraction and repulsion are perceptual phenomena — they reside primarily within the learner rather than being inherent in the stimuli themselves.

Now to the problem of want and needs. Confusion of *wants* and *needs* has continually plagued parents and teachers. Can we infer from what people say they want that that is what they actually need? Hardly. Wanting a new car and

needing one are not the same. Wanting a stereorecorder and needing one are not the same. Wanting a steak dinner or glass of bourbon or trip to the coast are not the same as needing those things. Then, how do we deal with the concept of needs? How have educators traditionally approached the problem of "students' needs?" Are there limitations reflected in such approaches that cause students to rebel or drop out of school or learn not to want to learn?

In general terms, what students need to learn (i.e., the curriculum) has conventionally been determined by drawing upon three basic sources: what we know about the nature of knowledge; what we know about the nature of society; and what we know about the nature of the individual.

For example, the structure of a discipline, the domain, and the methods which are unique and peculiar to each of the various areas of scholarly inquiry are all aspects of the nature of knowledge. The ways of the poet, for example, are different than the ways of the physicist. In like manner, the conceptual and working tools of the economist are different than the tools of the biologist. The aspect of reality to which they address their attention is different. The fundamental concepts and associated facts are different, too. Even the history of each discipline is unique and gives it an emphasis and flavor of its own. We can draw upon these kinds of information in our attempt to determine what students need to learn.

Another source from which we can draw is what we know about the nature of society: population patterns, demographic data, cultural values, institutional expectations, sentiments, and norms. Whether we use the traditional conceptualizations and data of sociological thought or the newer statements,[21] what we know about the nature of social institutions, their traditions and their change represents another important source for us as we attempt to ascertain what students need to learn.

A third source which we can employ as we work at the business of determining what students need is what we know about the nature of the individual, his biological, physiological, and psychological structure and function: blood chemistry, perceptual defenses, cognitive style, neurological processes, achievement patterns, intellectual structure, and the like.

Realizing that wants are only clues regarding needs, educators have traditionally gone to these three sources — the disciplines, society, and the individual — for both information and inspiration about students' needs. Curriculum is regarded as something like the seat of a three-legged stool: a solid base with three even legs. The seat of the stool represents the program, with one leg rooted firmly in what we know about the nature of knowledge, another leg rooted firmly in what we know about the nature of society, and a third leg rooted firmly in what we know about the nature of the individual. Such an idea is neat and understandable, but it is as wrong as wrong can be.

Educational programs never reflect that kind of balance and equivalent use of sources. What seems to happen is that those who build programs and operationalize curriculum subconsciously order these sources in hierarchical terms in their own mind, according to their own values. Certain sources are held to be more important than others, in other words, and the hierarchical ordering reflects this fact.

For example, to presume that what we know about the nature of knowledge is of greatest worth and what we know about society and the individual are of lesser worth will reflect a particular kind of philosophical posture — a value position — about what students need to learn and need to know. Let's call that Assumption Number One. That Assumption characterizes most of the secondary schools, colleges, and universities in the United States today. These institutions are generally discipline oriented, and they are organized and operated on the basis of subject matter concerns.

If we shift our logic and assume that what we know about the nature of society is of greatest importance, and what we know about the disciplines and the individual are of lesser importance, then we are operating from a very different kind of philosophical stance. Let us call this Assumption Number Two. In my experience, this is the kind of assumption which characterizes most elementary schools in the United States, where the primary concern is for the group. Cooperation, politeness, taking turns, being quiet — all social expectations in the main — are stressed.

To presume that what we know about the nature of the individual is of most importance and the other factors are of secondary importance represents a very different kind of

philosophical position about education. Let us call this Assumption Number Three. In my experience, there are very few classrooms or schools anywhere which reflect this ordering of curriculum sources as a basic way of meeting students' needs. Some "way out" schools such as Summerhill and probably the British Infant Schools are efforts in that direction, and some individual teachers here and there implement such an assumption in their classroom every day. By and large, however, there are very few models to which we can turn if we want to see or understand this kind of assumption in actual practice.

Because the different assumptions described above give rise to different kinds of educational purposes and goals, the problem is even more acute, for assumptions influence educational practice. It is crucial for us to try to understand the way in which such assumptions are actually related to students' needs. And students do have needs: academic needs, social needs, and individual needs. The question is: which needs are most pressing and most important at any given point in time?

The problem is, at least in part, a problem of ends and means. I want to argue that man is the end, subject matter is the means, and society is the result. I want to argue for Assumption Number Three.

Assumption Number One is essentially a vocational assumption, in my opinion. If an individual wants to become a mathematician, then he needs to study mathematics. If he wants to be a farmer, then he needs to study farming. If he wants to be an airplane pilot or physicist or poet or plumber, then he has to satisfy his need to know by pursuing those areas of inquiry which are directly related to his particular vocational interest.

Assumption Number Two, on the other hand, is essentially a philosophical position that presumes that what the student needs to learn will enable him to become an effective, contributing member of society. At root, it presumes that the school should be an instrument of social purpose which should work to achieve social as opposed to individual or subject matter ends. There can be no doubt that schools have always assumed this responsibility, but the question is: should this be the primary and overriding concern, or should it be of secondary importance? In my judgment,

schools should be established and maintained by society for the purpose of serving the needs of those inside the institution rather than those outside. To argue that the primary purpose of the school is to serve the needs of society is to adopt the basic logic of every totalitarian society which ever existed. While schools obviously must pay some attention to the problems of acculturation and socialization, that should not be their primary purpose, in my opinion.

Thus we come to Assumption Number Three. What does the individual really need? In physical terms, we know a lot about what people actually need, but when we shift to psychological or educational needs, there is a great void in what we know. All men need water and food and oxygen, for example. We know with considerable precision, in fact, which foods and which ingredients are absolutely essential to the maintenance of life itself. Among other things, man has to have protein, iron, calcium, niacin, viamins A, B, C and E. However, who knows which facts, which concepts, which generalizations are absolutely essential to the maintenance of an individual's intellectual and emotional life? Ardrey[22] is probably right when he postulates that man needs stimulation — he needs to know — but can we conceptualize and accomplish research studies to tell us more specifically and more accurately than we presently know which studies to tell us more specifically and more accurately than we presently know which ideas, which stimuli are most essential to meet individual student's learning needs? Differentiating needs from wants is a tremendous task, but it must be done.

Times change, and change — in education, industry, government, anywhere — demands great storehouses of information and men who need to know. Information is the least expensive commodity in the world today. We can get more facts, most concepts, and more information of every kind for less money than anything else, including clean water and clear air.

Our problem and our task is to find a way to bring people and information together into a dynamic, evolving relationship which will honor the integrity of man, the concerns of society, and the nature of knowledge itself. The primary focus, though, must always be on man. Man is the end. Subject matter is the means. Society is the result. When Assumptions Number One and Two and Three intersect — when what the individual needs, what the disciplines offer, and what

society expects all coincide — then we have a "teachable moment," in Havighurst's[23] terms.

These are fascinating but frustrating times. Problems are everywhere. Unemployment, reaction against higher education, conflict between the white and black communities and between the young and old. But these times shall pass. Time marches at a fantastic pace today. Somehow, someway we need to rethink completely our conceptualizations and our procedures for helping people develop and learn and grow. To do that we absolutely have to understand the tenor of the times. We have to understand what systems are and how they function and what makes them go. We have to comprehend the difference between "doing" and "being done to," and we have to identify those aspects of human potential which are subject to modification and which are also important in the learner's scheme of things. Our task is unbelievably large. We need to think bigger and harder and better than we have ever thought before. And the time to start is now.

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# 16

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Aldous, D.

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Baxter, G. M.
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## MANITOBA

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Coleman, P.
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Cramer, R.

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Enns, H. J.

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Holmes, V. E.
Howell, D.

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Ingalls, E. M.

Jasper, K. R.
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Kormylo, Wm.
Kruchak, Wm.

Leach, A. A.
Loewen, C. W.

MacFarlane, J. D.
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Martens, E. J.
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## NOVA SCOTIA

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## ONTARIO

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Amyot, G.
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